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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

MOROCCO, ALGERIA and TUNISIA

PART 2

January to December 1953

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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING MOROCCO, ALGERIA AND TUNISIA—PART 2

CHAPTER I.—FRENCH MOROCCO

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JM 1013/2

No. 1

FRENCH MOROCCO: QUARTERLY POLITICAL REPORT

September–December, 1952

Mr. Consul-General Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Eden. (*Received 26th January*)

(No. 5. Restricted) *Rabat,*
Sir, *18th January, 1953.*

With reference to my despatch No. 49 of 21st October, 1952, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report on the French Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended 31st December.

2. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador in Paris, his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, the Staff Officer (Intelligence) Gibraltar, the Regional Information Officer in Beirut, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis and to Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca.

I have, &c.
H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

Enclosure in No. 1

Quarterly Political Report

September–December, 1952

1. *General.*—The political scene in the last quarter of 1952 might well be compared to a symphony, scored for the full political orchestra and with solo parts for each of its better known instrumentalists. The main theme of " independence " was played, with variations, to the orchestral accompaniment of the proceedings at the United Nations. Tunis, with its earlier disturbances and frustrated negotiations, provided the opening bars, to be joined very soon by Morocco with its equally unsatisfactory, if less spectacular, altercations about reforms and the Sultan's public pronouncements. Then the murder of Ferhat Hached served as a lead-in for the final outburst of violence in Casablanca, followed by the sombre fortnight at the end of the year when the trouble-makers were being rounded up in Morocco and the Bey capitulated in signing the reform decrees in Tunis.

The significance therefore, of events in Morocco and their timing depended largely on prospects and developments in New York, where the Nationalist leaders could proclaim their cause to the world with complete freedom and could enlist the help of other countries to further it at the formal proceedings of the United Nations. Their opportunities were never greater nor their plans more carefully organised, both there and in their own countries: the measure of their defeat, as at the new year, must give them cause for reflection about the tactics to pursue in the coming months. The United Nations could, at least, be relied upon to perform their part at a steady tempo and according to approved rules of procedure, and indeed it may seem incongruous that it should have fallen to the Latin-American countries to have presented the eventual resolution which, for 1952, terminated the heated debates about a part of the world completely outside their normal sphere of interest. It will, however, be recalled that a party of United Nations delegates from those countries had visited French Morocco early in the year on the invitation of General Guillaume.

2. *United Nations.*—Although as far back as April Arab and other countries had expressed their concern to the United Nations about developments in Tunis, it was not until 7th August that Iraq addressed to the Secretary-General its first letter of complaint this year about Morocco. It was superseded by a letter on 3rd September signed by the representatives of the thirteen Arab-Asiatic countries who thereafter worked as a team throughout, namely, Afghanistan, Egypt, Burma, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Iran, Lebanon, Philippines and Syria.

On 15th October M. Hoppenot informed the General Committee of the General Assembly, when the inclusion of the Tunisian and Moroccan question on the agenda was under consideration, that the French Government could not accept any

interference by the United Nations on its relations with either of these protectorates. On 22nd October a vote was taken in the Political Committee to place the North African questions immediately after Korea: the United States voted in favour, to the annoyance of the French. The French position was confirmed on 10th November when at a plenary meeting of the General Assembly M. Robert Schuman made a full-dress speech regarding French policy in North Africa and the manner in which she was discharging her responsibilities—it should be added here that the American presidential elections took place on 4th November and the advent of General Eisenhower appears, at least partly, to have accounted for the American attitude changing from hesitancy to support of the French contentions. On 4th December M. Hoppenot notified the chairman of the First Committee that the French delegation would be unable to participate in the impending discussions. This decision was regretted also by France's adversaries and on 10th December Sir Zafrullah Khan presented a draft resolution to the First Committee regretting the absence of the French delegation from the deliberations about Tunisia (which was being taken first) and appealing to the French Government to reconsider their decision: the same resolution proposed that the Bey of Tunis should depute a representative to participate in the debates but without vote: the resolution was rejected. Sir Zafrullah Khan also circulated to the First Committee the text of the Sultan's speech from the Throne and a memorandum about Morocco presenting the viewpoint of the four Moroccan Nationalist parties. The Arab/Asiatic resolution about Tunisia was debated and defeated, and the Latin American resolution, to which the Asiatic States then subscribed, was adopted in its place. This resolution expressed confidence in France, urged the continuance of negotiations and appealed for the settlement of disputes in accordance with the spirit of the charter and avoiding actions or measures likely to aggravate the present tension. Although the terms of this resolution were inoffensive to the French they felt unable to accept it in principle, in view of the implication that the United Nations had any right to concern itself in their relations with the two protectorates.

After the Tunisian question had been disposed of the Arab-Asiatic delegations wanted to play for time and suggested that the debate on Morocco be postponed but this proposal was rejected. They then realised that they had to cut their coat according to their cloth and changed their tactics by arguing that the Treaty of Algeciras acknowledged the sovereignty of the Sultan and also gave the Moroccan question an international character. On 17th December the First Committee adopted a Latin American resolution which was very similar in its terms to that on Tunis. The committee had already voted down two Arab-Asiatic proposals, one of them relating to the Moroccan problem being a danger to world peace and the other to the sovereignty of Morocco, but they had accepted an amendment by Pakistan relating to the urgency of bringing about self-government for the Moroccans. This amendment, which was opposed both by the United Kingdom and the United States and which was included also in the Tunisian resolution, caused great resentment among the French, but it was defeated a few days later in the General Assembly and the original Latin American text was adopted.

The French delegation consisted of four officials headed by M. Lacoste, who had recently served in Morocco as Délégué and Secretary-General; two members of the Public Relations Department of the Protectorate, M. de Fossey and M. Temsemani (Moroccan) were also in New York throughout to deal with the press and with public opinion. They made a point of shadowing the Nationalist leaders and had several opportunities of opposing them in public debates on various un-official platforms. The Istiqlal notables included Allal el Fassi, Laghzsoui, Ben Aboud, Bennouna and Ahmed Balafrej (secretary-general of the party); the Democratic Independence Party was represented by its leader Hassan Ouezzani, Cherklaoui and Bensouda (director of its newspaper Ar Rai Al Amm).

The attitude adopted by the United Kingdom during the proceedings at the United Nations was highly appreciated by the protectorate authorities.

3. *Proposals for political reforms. Activities of the Sultan and of the Political Parties.*—The Sultan's reply to the French note of 17th September was delivered in Paris on 5th October and three days later, without any warning, he gave a statement to the press summarising his exchanges with the French since 1950. Among his political demands was the institution of a Moroccan provisional government to negotiate a new political agreement with the French, with a view to the establishment of a parliament and a constitutional government on modern democratic lines. His Majesty complained that the French had ignored this and other requests and had come back with proposals of reforms of a purely administrative character, several of which had been considered before: in particular they included proposals for mixed French-Moroccan municipal and rural committees and insisted on the retention of the Protectorate Treaty. Sovereignty could never be shared with the French though he was anxious for their continued co-operation in economic, cultural and international matters.

In an interview on 11th November with a representative of the Colombia Broadcasting system the Sultan repeated the main points of his general policy. He said that Morocco had always been recognised as a sovereign State and while it was geographically and strategically a western country it was by religion and tradition bound to the east. The Istiqlal would make a serious mistake if it joined forces with communism; the rights of all foreigners would be guaranteed and foreign technicians would be needed to develop the country and for these he would first turn to the French. On 18th November the Feast of the Throne was celebrated throughout the country and since this was the 25th anniversary of His Majesty's accession the festivities were planned on a far more elaborate scale than previously. In his annual speech he gave an account of the development of Morocco during his reign though ignoring the French contribution to this achievement. He maintained that since the Treaty of Fez of 1912 the country had grown up very noticeably but that there had been no corresponding development in the political régime. His desire for Moroccan sovereignty was not incompatible with Franco-Moroccan friendship, proof of which had been given during the war. He then recapitulated his usual contentions about the inadequacy of French proposals for reforms, his aspirations for a modern constitutional democracy and the important rôle which the country might then play as a link between the east and the west.

All these pronouncements were courteous in tone and were, on the whole, regarded favourably by the Protectorate authorities in that they left the door open for further diplomatic exchanges. The main difference between His Majesty's standpoint and that of the French related to the speed with which these various reforms should take place rather than to final objectives, the French maintaining that they could only succeed if introduced gradually and in accordance with the political evolution of the people. His main purpose in making these statements was doubtless to show that he could himself champion the cause of nationalism as effectively as any of the political parties, and to make his views known in advance of the discussions which were to take place in the United Nations. Within the country, however, his speeches were acclaimed by the Nationalist parties as providing a clear-cut statement of unsatisfied grievances and as carrying the authority of no less a personage than the Sultan himself. They inflamed political passions and left the way clear for the outbursts of violence which were to follow.

In November a bomb outrage had occurred at the house of the director of a pro-French Moroccan newspaper and the month of December was anticipated with considerable apprehension by the protectorate authorities who expected demonstrations to coincide with the debates at the United Nations, though they were fully prepared to suppress them by force. The murder of Ferhat Hached in Tunis was a convenient pretext for action by the Nationalists and the manner in which the Istiqlal Party used Communist organisations to further its purposes provided interesting subject matter for study. In the week beginning the 7th December serious riots took place at Casablanca in the course of which 8 Europeans and up to 40 or 50 Moroccans were reported to have been killed, though the latter figure was probably an under-estimate. The course of events was reported in detail by Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca at the time. Fortunately the rioters were prevented from entering the European town and the protectorate authorities succeeded in rounding up most of the Istiqlal and Communist leaders as a result of which the Istiqlal Party was left completely disorganised. The activities of the Istiqlal and Communist parties were declared to be illegal and the newspapers of all the Nationalist press were suspended. Except for a minor incident at Beni Mellal involving some loss of life, and for a demonstration at Rabat which was broken up without difficulty, the rest of the country remained quiet and when order was restored, demonstrations of loyalty were made to the protectorate authorities by various Moroccan institutions and notables. General Guillaume, who visited Paris to report on the events, was fully supported by M. Pinay's Government and it was hoped that the adoption of firm measures would prevent further trouble for some months to

come. After the riots were over the protectorate authorities continued their clearing-up operations and arrested a number of persons whose politics and activities were regarded as prejudicial to peace and order in the country, the Pacha of Port Lyautey being among those who were dismissed from their posts. They also cancelled the passports of the Nationalist leaders in New York in order to prevent them from returning to Tangier.

The Parti démocrate de l'Indépendence (P.D.I.) of Hassan el Ouezzani took no part in the Casablanca riots but tried to exploit the situation some days after the event by proclaiming a day of mourning for the victims and urging shopkeepers to close their shops. This minor effort was not taken seriously either by the shopkeepers or by the French authorities, although the latter took precautions in case any political demonstrations should ensue. The party had been endeavouring throughout to show that they were as ardent advocates of nationalism as any other and were indeed disappointed when their leaders failed to qualify for arrest after the riots and thereby acquire distinction for their part in the cause of independence.

4. *Communism.*—The part played by the Communists in connexion with the Casablanca riots drew attention to the strength of their organisation, which had shown little evidence of activity in the earlier months of the year. The complex relationship which had grown up between the Communists and the Nationalists in the Confédération Générale du Travail (C.G.T.) enabled the two parties to combine in the furtherance of their common and immediate interest, namely, the creation of civil disorder, despite the difference of their ultimate political objectives. The Union Générale des Syndicats Confédérés du Maroc (U.G.S.C.M.), an unofficial federation of Moroccan unions with both Communists and Nationalists on its committee, was actively engaged in sending out orders using the C.G.T. in Casablanca for relaying them to the working classes, and it was at the headquarters of the latter that the meeting was held which immediately preceded the rioting. A large number of Communists were arrested during and after the disturbances, including several French who were sent back to France.

5. *Internal.*—Apart from the more spectacular events recorded above, political life in Morocco continued much as usual. The Resident-General, when not absent in Paris for consultation, made several tours around the country to keep in touch with the various authorities both French and Moroccan, and to attend local ceremonial occasions of all sorts. In October he attended army manœuvres in Algeria and then the annual meeting here with the Governor-General of Algiers and the Resident-General in Tunis, who were accompanied by their military advisers, to discuss matters relating to the defence of North Africa and other subjects of mutual interest. He spent no longer in Rabat than his political and representational duties required but it was a season when he had to receive many official delegations and visitors and he gave a special welcome to the few British who came. The Italian Consul-General decorated him with the Star (first-class) of the Order of Italian National Solidarity in recognition of his sympathetic interest and support after the serious floods which had taken place in Italy.

The Conseil du Gouvernement met from 1st to 11th December to discuss the budget which contained few new features but provided for an increase in the French Government's contribution from 15 milliard of francs in 1952 to about 19 milliard for 1953. The Moroccan sessions coincided with the Casablanca riots and the protectorate authorities paid tribute to the orderly manner in which they none the less proceeded with their normal business.

6. *The Hague Court Decision.*—On 10th October a residential decree was issued rescinding the decree of 1948 which had been declared by the court to be incompatible with the Act of Algeciras, and bringing into force new regulations regarding import licences and currency. This and subsequent decrees on the same subject have been collated in an official publication, copies of which have been sent to posts interested. There is still strong criticism, however, among American businessmen and from certain consular colleagues whose countries' commercial interests are affected, that these measures fall short of complying with the court's decision.

7. *Impact of Events Abroad on Local Opinion. Press.*—Interest in events abroad was devoted mainly to the United Nations and to the standpoint taken by its members towards French policy in North Africa. The tension and events in Tunisia were naturally publicised both in this connexion and because of their importance to French public opinion here. The presidential elections in the United States received due attention and there was some analysis of the relative advantages (from the French angle) of the result. On the whole there appeared to be a feeling of satisfaction that General Eisenhower was the successful candidate, since it was thought that he might show a sharper appreciation of strategic issues, in relation both to North Africa and to Indo-China, than his opponent. His subsequent activities, particularly in regard to the Far East, were followed closely.

Events in France and Western Europe were, as usual, fully reported in the French language newspapers, and preparations for the Coronation, with illustrations, have received wide publicity.

8. *Air Bases.*—General Vandenberg, the Chief of the United States Air General Staff, visited the zone at the end of October. He expressed satisfaction at the arrangements which had been made for the welfare of the United States personnel at Nouacceur, but was very critical of the state of the runways which, he said, had been badly constructed and would entail an abnormal amount of maintenance. This accusation was refuted by both civil and military engineers who, while agreeing that the runways were not perfect, held that they had been constructed as well as was possible in the short time allotted to them by the United States Air Force authorities themselves.

Towards the end of December the local press published reports of a major misappropriation of stores at the base at Sidi-Slimane. It was at first alleged to involve Security Officers of the U.S.A.F. but this was subsequently corrected as the " officers " in question were employees of the Atlas Construction Company. The enquiry is still proceeding.

General Archie J. Old, Jr., the Commanding-General of the 5th Division is leaving Morocco shortly on transfer to the United States and is being replaced by Major-General Hutchinson, who has already arrived in Rabat.

9. *Miscellaneous.*—During November there were two sensational cases of currency smuggling. The first came to light when an American who was reported to be in possession of six passports was arrested at the French frontier post on the road to Tangier while smuggling securities and cash from this zone. The transactions in which he was engaged amounted to 700 million francs and about 100 persons were said to be implicated. In the second case a Moroccan was arrested at Casablanca and the currency involved was said to be about 650 million francs. Investigations are proceeding and the Customs authorities state that, as a result of their arrests, illegal operators have been lying low and done no business lately.

In October the first oil tanker in the Moroccan merchant marine went into service: it is of 15,000 tons and the merchant marine's largest vessel.

Brazil and Austria have opened consulates in Casablanca, the former apparently for reasons of prestige while Austria's motive is said to have been trade expansion.

JM 1013/8 No. 2

POLITICAL REPORT, JANUARY–MARCH, 1953

Mr. Consul-General Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Eden. (*Received April 20*)

(No. 28. Confidential) *Rabat,*
Sir, *April 13, 1953.*

Calm prevailed throughout French Morocco during the first quarter of 1953. The Istiqlal Party was completely disorganised owing to the arrest of its leaders after the Casablanca riots and the Sultan was thereby isolated from his normal source of political support. As a result of the firm measures taken by the French a large section of drifting opinion which had previously supported the Istiqlal cause had rallied to their side and there was much hard thinking among the Protectorate Authorities as to how this respite could best be used both for steadying opinion in their favour and for making progress with reforms.

With the Istiqlal and Communist parties out of the picture the only local political elements of any consequence were the *Glaoui* and the *Parti Démocrate de l'Indépendance*, both of whom made some capital out of the resulting void but, owing to the

preponderant position of the Sultan with whom the Resident-General was obliged to negotiate, their activities were of relatively little importance. The dialogue between the Resident-General and the Sultan about reforms was resumed early in January, after the Sultan had intimated his wish to continue negotiations, but by the end of the quarter there was little positive progress to report.

Activities of Political Parties

The Istiqlal and Communist parties had been banned after the Casablanca riots but the *Parti Démocrate de l'Indépendance* of Hassan el Ouezzani had taken no part in them and the Protectorate Authorities intimated to their leaders who had been at United Nations meetings that, with the exception of Hassan el Ouezzani himself, there would be no objection to their returning to Morocco. The party made overtures to the French and for a short time it seemed just possible that the latter might make some use of them to attract moderate Nationalist opinion but owing to the scant following which the party enjoyed and to the fact that it was strongly disliked by the Sultan the prospect of its playing a new part in the political life of the country has rapidly receded.

The *Glaoui* gave an interview at the New Year to a correspondent of a Spanish newspaper in which he put the responsibility for the Casablanca riots on a small group of political agitators and on the Sultan for supporting them, though he professed his loyalty to the Alouite dynasty. He continued to remain a valuable ally of the French.

Reforms

General Guillaume, who visited Paris at the beginning of the year, secured the full approval of the French Government for the furtherance of his policy of instituting reforms from the bottom upwards, with the consent of the Sultan in so far as it might be obtained. His firm handling of the political disorders in December had gained for him the confidence of the colons and of the *Troisieme College*, who have played an increasingly prominent part in representing their interests. Opposition to his policy was, however, voiced in France by a group of Catholic intellectuals who blamed the Protectorate authorities for the Casablanca riots and provided a rallying point for his opponents. He countered their accusations promptly in a speech delivered at the American Club in Paris and a Catholic delegation which visited Morocco in February expressed approval of the measures which he had taken to suppress the disorders.

In the conversations between General Guillaume and the Sultan progress has been slow, the only subject so far discussed being the establishment of municipal councils. The French have kept to their standpoint that the councils should be elected, that they should have deliberate powers, and that French as well as Moroccans should be eligible to serve on them, but the Sultan has rigorously opposed each of these three requirements, though he might agree to French participation provided that their members were nominated and not elected. A suggestion was made that non-Moroccan membership might be extended to foreign residents other than French, who had a direct interest in the proper management of municipal affairs, but this proposal was also rejected by His Majesty. It remains to be seen whether he will modify his opinions but there is no apparent reason for optimism, especially considering that he is now in touch with the Nationalist leaders who have arrived in Cairo in exile. If, however, the question of municipal councils can be settled, the Resident-General hopes to start discussions about judicial reforms.

The establishment of rural *djemmas* has been proceeding apace and in two or three months' time they should be in existence throughout the country.

There have been hardly any events of importance in the French Zone during the quarter under review and General Guillaume has been making his usual tours in the country. On the 20th January a meeting took place between him and General Garcia Vallino, the High Commissioner of the Spanish Zone, to open a barrage near the frontier of the two zones at Oujda: this was to return the visit paid by General Guillaume to the Spanish High Commissioner in December 1951.

On the 9th February Mme. Lyautey, widow of Marshal Lyautey, died at Casablanca in her ninety-second year. In the course of her many years' residence in this country, and indeed until the time of her last illness, she had devoted herself to the furtherance of welfare activities in every form, and especially to the French Red Cross, of which she had been president. An official funeral was arranged with military honours at which the vast crowds were evidence of the respect and affection she had earned among all sections of the people; she was buried in the mausoleum at Rabat beside her late husband.

Events Abroad—Press

There have been no political events abroad which have had any direct repercussions on this country except for those in France which have been followed as usual by the French residents directly interested in them. Owing to the scarcity of news about Morocco itself the press has given more prominence than previously to international affairs and news from the Soviet Union naturally took first place, closely followed by news and speculation about the European Army. The visits of Marshal Tito to London and of yourself and of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Washington were very fully covered and such comment as appeared was reasonably well informed in both cases. Preparations for the Coronation are being closely followed.

Death of Queen Mary

The illness and funeral of Her Majesty Queen Mary was reported at length and many articles appeared giving particulars of her life and showing how widely she had been admired and respected in countries other than her own as well as by her own subjects. A Memorial Service was held in the English Church at Casablanca which was attended by the Chef de Région and other local personalities.

Visit of the Indian Ambassador in Paris

His Excellency Sirdar Malik, Indian Ambassador in Paris, spent about a fortnight in French Morocco early in March accompanied by his wife and two secretaries. The party were the guests of the Protectorate Authorities and stayed with the Resident-General in Rabat. They also visited Fez, Marrakech, Agadir, Mogador and Casablanca, where he was given a reception by the Indian community. In the course of his tour his Excellency met not only French officials but also a number of Moroccan Nationalists and welcomed the opportunity of examining local problems on the spot.

Visit of H.M.S. Indomitable

The aircraft-carrier H.M.S. *Indomitable* and the destroyer H.M.S. *Chivalrous* visited Casablanca from the 18th to the 23rd March. Several thousands of French and Moroccans went on board the ships when they were open to the public or by invitation to the various parties given, and an extensive round of entertainments was arranged on shore by the British colony, by the French, and also by members of the American Community. Senior officials of the Protectorate and members of the Consular Corps at Rabat particularly appreciated being included among the guests despite the three hours motoring entailed by the drive to Casablanca and back. The visit was an unqualified success both for British prestige and for mutual relations.

Having reached the age limit Vice-Admiral Sol, commanding the French Navy in Morocco, retired last month. He has been replaced by Rear-Admiral Sap who until recently has commanded the naval shore establishment at Toulon.

Major-General Archie J. Old, Jr., Commanding the 5th Air Division U.S.A.F. in Morocco returned to the United States about the middle of January, and was replaced by Major-General David W. Hutchinson.

Several high-ranking officers of the U.S.A.F. have visited the French Zone during the quarter, including Generals Lauris Norstad, Curtis Le May and Benjamin W. Chidlaw.

JM 1013/10 No. 3

FRENCH MOROCCO: QUARTERLY POLITICAL REPORT
April–June 1953

Mr. Consul-General Freese-Pennefather to Lord Salisbury. (*Received July 13*)

(No. 48. Confidential) *Rabat, July 1, 1953.*

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 28 of the 13th of April, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report on the French Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended on the 30th of June.

2. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris and Madrid, His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar,

the Staff Officer (Intelligence) Gibraltar, the Regional Information Officer in Beirut, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis and to Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca.

I have, &c.

H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

Enclosure in No. 3

Quarterly Political Report, April–June 1953

The Coronation

Few events abroad can have created so deep an impression on the public as did Her Majesty's Coronation. For some time past the press had published detailed accounts of the preparations for it and articles on the significance of this great event, and on the day itself Radio Maroc relayed the broadcasts from London which were followed with great interest by a large number of listeners. Not only was the public impressed with the traditions of the monarchy and with the esteem which it has earned in uniting all the diverse nations of the Commonwealth, but also its stability and the cheerful courage of Her Majesty herself stood out in sharp relief against the uncertainties of a world which is elsewhere sadly lacking in sincerity of purpose.

2. General Guillaume attended the celebrations at Gibraltar on the invitation of His Excellency the Governor, so the Délégué at the Residency, M. de Blesson, did the honours on behalf of the Protectorate. Thanksgiving services and official receptions were held at Rabat, Casablanca and Fez, and a full week of festivities was planned at Casablanca where there is a fairly large British community. At my reception in Rabat the Sultan was represented by the Grand Vizir, who, despite his age of over 100 years, stayed till nearly midnight to drink the health of Her Majesty. During the subsequent weeks vast crowds have been attending the local cinemas to see the various films of the Coronation which have been much admired.

Internal

3. During the past quarter no progress whatever has been made in the negotiations with the Sultan over reforms: His Majesty asked that the discussions be transferred from Rabat to Paris, but the French Government refused. The members of the Istiqlal, who were sent into forced residence after the Casablanca riots, were not released. In the meantime, the elements in opposition to the Sultan have been rallying together to bring pressure on him to mend his ways or to dethrone him. They have based their complaints initially on the religious position taken by His Majesty in aligning himself with extremists to the detriment of his country and of its religion, and have urged that he should abdicate or be deposed in favour of someone more worthy of his high office.

4. Early in April a large gathering of religious brotherhoods was organised in Fez for which Sheikh el Kettani had secured the attendance of religious chiefs from Algeria and Tunisia in addition to those of the brotherhoods of Morocco. Eloquent speeches were exchanged about France being the true protector of Islam and the conference was believed so widely to have been French-inspired that a denial was issued in the press that it was directed against the Sultan. The Glaoui visited Fez for the occasion, apparently with the intention of taking an active part in the proceedings and of organising a peaceful demonstration in the Medina in favour of reforms but against independence; he was, however, dissuaded by the Protectorate authorities. A delegation representing forty-five out of fifty-one of the ulema of Fez delivered a protest to the Sultan against the religious teachings of the conference and against the activities of Sheikh el Kettani; this elicited a counter-protest from the Glaoui that the Fez ulema in no way represented the numerous ulema elsewhere in Morocco, that they had been well-known sympathisers with the cause of the Istiqlal and of the Communists and that they had used their religious influence on the Sultan to lead him astray. At the end of April the Sultan suffered an injury to his eye owing to an accident when manipulating a rocket, and with Ramadan ahead, to be followed by the summer holiday season, it was hoped that political controversy might die down for a time.

5. In May Marshal Juin visited Morocco for the purpose of conferring the insignia of the Légion d'Honneur on the Colour of the Goums and of investing General Guillaume with the Grand Cross of the Order, which had been granted to him in August of last year. The ceremony took place on a plain in the Middle Atlas in the presence of all the personalities of importance in the Protectorate, excepting that there were no representatives of the Sultan or of the Palace. Thousands of tribesmen, almost all of them Berbers, had collected from the neighbouring regions and the occasion was a most colourful and impressive demonstration of their loyalty to the Franch cause. Marshal Juin presided also at ceremonies at Casablanca during his visit, paid a visit to Marrakesh where he dined privately with the Glaoui, and, on his return to Rabat, he called to ask after the health of the Sultan who was reported to have received him most amicably.

6. Towards the end of May the Glaoui left for London. Earlier in the year he had intimated his intention of visiting England on his own initiative at the time of the Coronation and the Prime Minister, being an old personal friend, had issued a private invitation to him to watch the procession as his guest. The Sultan could not be represented at the Coronation, since Morocco was under the protection of the French Government who represented him diplomatically for all international purposes, and interested parties were quick to welcome the invitation extended to the Glaoui, despite its personal and private character, as an indication of his eminence and of the esteem in which he was held in the United Kingdom. Tendentious reports that his visit to London was official provoked many letters of protest both in this country and elsewhere from supporters of the Sultan, though most of them were unsigned.

7. When the Glaoui reached Paris, the press published a protest, which had been signed by two-thirds of the Pashas and Caids in the country, complaining that the Sultan had broken away from the religious precepts of Islam, affiliating himself with extremists; he should therefore be deposed and his place be given to a more worthy person. This protest had been communicated to M. Bidault by General Guillaume and the Glaoui, who had most probably been responsible for its publication, at the same time issued a declaration affirming that the Sultan represented nothing and that his overthrow merely needed the consent of the French Government to become effective. French official comment was restricted to saying that the petition represented an important section of Moroccan opinion, that the French had no present intention of following it up, but that it showed the urgency of giving democratic expression to Moroccan wishes (by the institution of the long-discussed reforms). They preferred to adopt a " neutral " attitude, since the grievances were based on the Sultan's conduct of religious affairs which were strictly outside their competence, and there were indeed indications that the momentum acquired by the petition had embarrassed them by getting beyond their control. Speculation was rife as to how far Protectorate officials had directly encouraged it and as to the purpose of the authorities in letting it run.

8. Counter-protests quickly followed. In a communiqué issued by the Grand Vizir the Sultan pointed out that the Pashas and Caids appointed by him had committed a serious breach of discipline, that they had no standing to pronounce on politics and still less on religious questions. Being appointed and not elected they spoke for no one but themselves, and many doubtless had signed under pressure or out of fear in view of the recent suspension of officials (after the Casablanca riots), His Majesty's official relations with the French remained unchanged and he hoped they would put an end to this " organised dissidence." This communiqué was followed by a declaration by four eminent Pashas, one of whom, the Pasha of Sefrou, had a large following as president or vice-president of various ex-servicemen's organisations; he was also normally regarded with favour by the French. After protesting strongly against the attitude taken by the dissident Pashas and Caids and against the activities of the Glaoui, they reaffirmed their loyalty to the Throne and to the cause of Franco-Moroccan friendship. Further communiqués were issued by interested parties on both sides, since all Moroccans of note felt obliged to declare where they stood on this issue. The Sultan cancelled the Hedya, an annual ceremony at the end of Ramadan when he receives gifts and homage from the Pashas and Caids, on the plea that he had not sufficiently recovered from the accident to his eye, and on the 18th of June the press published a conciliatory message from him about the need for co-operation with the French. The Sultan postponed his intended visit to France indefinitely, the Resident-General put off until the middle of August a tour of the United States which he had been invited to make by the Chief of Staff of the United States army and the Glaoui is not expected back before September. Most of the above events occurred when there was no French Government.

9. Little else of consequence has happened during the months under review. The Resident-General has frequently been absent from Rabat on visits to Paris or on tour within the country. The usual series of

trade fairs has been held at different towns, culminating in the Casablanca fair at the beginning of June, and at the end of the quarter the Conseil de Gouvernement were holding their summer session, which has so far been as colourless as usual. For the rest the public has been enjoying its usual springtime festivities of bicycle and motor races, horse shows and other sporting events, and the annual stream of holiday traffic is now moving northwards with its accustomed regularity and determination.

Impact of Events Abroad.—The Press

10. Apart from the Coronation current events provided a wide variety of interesting material for the press and the public to dilate upon; events in the Soviet Union, Korea, Indo-China and Egypt were very fully reported, in addition to the recent governmental crisis in France.

11. The situation resulting from the fall of M. Mayer was first studied with the care and respect appropriate to the occasion, but after the third or forth attempt to form a Government the ensuing reports were read by many for their purely speculative interest. Considerable relief has been expressed over the termination of this crisis with its attendant uncertainties, particularly so far as Morocco is concerned, and it is hoped that M. Laniel may be given a fair chance to play his hand.

12. The apparent change of policy in the Kremlin which followed on the spectacular release of the Jewish doctors has been welcomed unanimously, but all comment stressed the necessity for the West to remain on its guard and not to relax in its military preparedness. President Eisenhower's speech in April was widely publicised and discussed as was also the speech later made by the Prime Minister on foreign policy. This was warmly welcomed in the *Echo du Maroc*, but articles in the *Vigie Marocaine* and in *Maroc Presse* criticised it for being too "insular." It was essential for the Western Powers to be in agreement, instead of which the United Kingdom and the United States were confusing economic and political objectives; French also must have a place in any discussions from the outset.

13. Much had been expected of the proposed Bermuda Conference, especially as it was felt that subsequent talks with the Russians were becoming increasingly necessary and urgent. Prominence is now being given to the news about the Prime Minister's health and the consequent cancellation of the conference. There is general regret that Sir Winston Churchill will not be able to participate in any three-Power discussions which may be substituted for the conference as originally planned, but the end of the Cabinet crisis in France has provided some consolation for the French, who are now relatively certain that their country will be able to send a duly accredited representative.

Visitors

14. General Ridgway, Supreme Commander of Allied Forces in Europe, arrived on the 6th of April and remained five days during which he paid the usual courtesy calls and was received by the Sultan, who invested him with the Grand Cordon of the Order of Ouissem Alaouite. The purpose of his visit was stated to have been to co-ordinate the defence plans of Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Powers in Europe with those of the United States Strategical Air Command.

15. Mr. Charles Wilson, United States Secretary for Defence, Mr. Anderson, United States Secretary for the Navy, General Omar Bradley, President of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, and General Norstad, Commander-in-Chief Allied Air Forces in Central Europe, arrived on the 2nd of May for a few days, during which they visited the new air bases and attended a banquet given in their honour by the Glaoui at Marrakesh.

16. The above visit coincided with a short but extremely successful official visit which Admiral the Earl Mountbatten of Burma paid as British Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean, on the Resident-General: he was accompanied by the Countess Mountbatten and they stayed at the Residency as General Guillaume's guests.

17. On the 5th of May, Air Chief Marshal Sir Hugh Saunders, Air Deputy to the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, arrived on an official visit to inspect the French air bases and training establishments.

18. At the end of May a delegation of Turkish journalists visited this zone as part of a tour which the French Government had invited it to make of the French North African territories.

No. 4

DEPOSITION OF THE SULTAN

Sir O. Harvey to Lord Salisbury. (*Received August 20*)

(No. 299. Confidential) *Paris,*
(Telegraphic) *August 20, 1953.*

My telegram No. 291: Morocco.

Quai d'Orsay confirm agency reports that the Sultan has been deposed. They say that General Guillaume made a last attempt this morning to persuade the Glaoui and his supporters to take up a less uncompromising position but without success. The French Government were therefore faced with the alternatives of using armed force against those Moroccan chiefs who had always shown the greatest loyalty to France or of removing the Sultan. They therefore chose the latter course.

No. 5

DEPARTURE OF THE SULTAN FROM MOROCCO

Mr. Consul Coe to Lord Salisbury. (*Received August 20*)

(No. 49. Restricted) *Rabat,*
(Telegraphic) *August 20, 1953.*

Morocco.

Diplomatic Cabinet inform me officially that the Sultan has abdicated and left Morocco by air, accompanied by his two sons and French army officer.

2. Curfew has been imposed from 8 o'clock to-night.

3. The press announced that some tribesmen are marauding on Rabat but the Head of the Diplomatic Cabinet says the movement is not important and that necessary security measures have been taken.

No. 6

REPORT ON THE DEPOSITION OF THE SULTAN

Sir O. Harvey to Lord Salisbury. (*Received August 21*)

(No. 289. Saving. Confidential) *Paris,*
(Telegraphic) *August 21, 1953.*

The deposition of the Sultan is the culmination of the policy for which Marshal Juin, the Residency and French business interests in Morocco have been working relentlessly for some time.

2. It was probably impossible without provoking civil war to have persuaded the Glaoui and his followers to withdraw their demands on this occasion, especially as the available troops were mostly Berber regiments. But it is undoubted that the present situation has arisen because of the irresponsible way in which the Residency has been allowed to work up the Berbers in the past as a means of pressure on the Sultan. In 1951, it will be recalled, Marshal Juin, then Resident-General, staged a march on Rabat which was called off at the last moment because the French Government was not prepared to see it through and depose the Sultan. Unfortunately the recurrent political crises in Paris have led to lack of continuous Cabinet control, while the Residency has continued to be inspired by the rough and tough methods of Juin. Added to this, the reactionary business

interests of Casablanca exercise a formidable lobby in the Assembly.

3. M. Schuman, in an article published last March, complained that the French Government's policy was not being carried out because the Residency did not obey the Quai and because the bureaucracy did not even obey the Residency. None the less, M. Schuman himself must bear considerable responsibility because of his notorious distaste for tackling Moroccan questions during his long term of office.

4. The Sultan had certainly proved himself most obstructive to the French policy of democratising the régime combined with introducing political representation for French settlers but he had thus established himself as the leader of the Arab Nationalists. It is questionable whether any other Sultan without appearing a complete stooge can do less if he is to retain influence over the Arab section of the population. The Glaoui's Berber followers among the southern tribes are the more backward and military elements of the population who have always chafed under the Sultan's rule ever since it was placed upon them by Marshal Lyautey when he conquered the south and consolidated the Sheriffian Empire. It is therefore primarily an internal movement, in which the reactionary and feudal elements of Mohammedanism are led by the Glaoui against the modernising Arab Nationalists, who played up to the Sultan.

5. Now, however, the situation which Juin has been wanting has been achieved and the French Government must face the consequences. I am not able to appreciate the local situation from here, but leaving aside the repercussions in the Arab and Asiatic world, there is likely to be considerable opposition in the Assembly itself, where not only the Socialists but many M.R.P. and moderate Radicals may be expected to disapprove. The powerful Figaro has for long been campaigning against the Resident's policy towards the Sultan and M. Mauriac has been exposing the excesses committed by the French police in the recent Casablanca riots. The addition of this bone of contention to the confused parliamentary situation which will face M. Laniel's Government if the Assembly meets next week is unfortunate. I fear it will encourage the popular view that the present Government is Right wing and reactionary with disturbing effect on those Left elements who are already unhappy in the majority. It certainly increases the chances of a fresh Government crisis.

No. 7

THE REPLACEMENT OF SULTAN MOHAMED BEN YOUSSEF BY SIDI MOHAMED OULD MOULAY ARAFA

Mr. Consul Coe to Lord Salisbury. (*Received September 7*)

(No. 64. Confidential) *Rabat,*
My Lord Marquess, *August 22, 1953.*

With reference to my despatch No. 60 of the 17th of August, I have the honour to inform you that M. de Blesson, the Minister Delegate at the Residency-General, asked foreign representatives in Rabat to call on him again yesterday morning. He said that, although we were naturally already aware of the decisions of the last few days, he wished to give us further details of the events which had led to the departure of Sultan Mohamed Ben Youssef and the appointment of Sidi Mohamed Ould Moulay Arafa to replace him. I have already reported briefly in my telegram No. 52 of the 21st of August.

2. The Resident-General had, as we knew, gone to Paris on the 17th of August to press for an immediate solution of the crisis which had arisen owing to the refusal of the Glaoui and the Pashas and Caids to accept the arrangement made between him and the Sultan with a view to maintaining His Majesty on the throne. The matter had been discussed at a meeting of the French Cabinet and General Guillaume had returned to Morocco about 2 a.m. on the 20th of August. He had gone at once to the Residency at Casablanca, where he had immediately informed his senior officials of the instructions he had received. They were to the effect that he should, in the first place, do all in his power to persuade the Opposition movement to accept some compromise which would avoid getting rid of Sultan Mohamed Ben Youssef; if that failed he should take whatever steps he judged necessary to maintain order and secure the monarchy. He had seen the Glaoui upon his return to Rabat some hours later, and it had then become apparent that no compromise of any kind would be possible. The feelings of the Pashas and Caids and their followers were so strong that only one solution would be acceptable to them, *i.e.*, the elimination of Sultan Mohamed Ben Youssef. The tribes were, in fact, already marching on Rabat with a view to enforcing their wishes and His Majesty's life was consequently in great danger. At 2 o'clock the same afternoon, therefore, General Guillaume had gone to the palace to explain the position to His Majesty, making it clear that only his abdication could save his country from civil war. His Majesty had replied that he could not take such a grave decision at a moment's notice and that he must have time for reflection. General Guillaume had then informed him that there was no time for that and that he must leave the country at once. Shortly afterwards His Majesty, accompanied by his two sons, had left the palace for Rabat-Ville aerodrome, whence they had taken off for Ajaccio within the hour. As there had been no time for them to make personal arrangements, a second aircraft had left later with servants and luggage. About 3,000 persons, including the Black Guard, household staff, &c., lived in the " Mechouar " (the vast walled area surrounding the palace), and it had been thought they might make some attempt to create disorder. Strong military precautions had therefore been taken; but there had, in the event, been no disturbance of any kind—not a stone had been thrown nor a voice raised.

3. M. de Blesson had prefaced the above by some observations on his relationship between the Sultan and his immediate entourage, including the Makhzen. He said that His Majesty was very authoritative, and that all those who had had to work with him had come to accept his wishes without demur, even when they did not agree with them. In the past this had applied equally to the Grand Vizir, but recently the latter had refused to follow his sovereign's lead. After the Sultan had left the country he said he had " waited nine years for this moment "—and similar expressions of relief had emanated from the majority of the members of the Makhzen; even His Majesty's private secretary had expressed no regret!

4. Sultan Mohamed Bin Youssef having gone, a replacement had to be found. The question of who would be a suitable successor had, of course, frequently been under consideration in the past, since it was always possible that His Majesty might die as the result of an illness or a motor-car accident, and a careful study of the members of the Alaouite family closest to His Majesty had shown that Sidi Mohamed Ould Moulay Arafa—a pious, venerated and reasonable man—was the only possible choice; in the present circumstances there was, moreover, the added advantage that he had already been proclaimed " Imam of the Faithful " by those who represented the overwhelming majority of the Moroccan people. The Makhzen had met shortly after the Sultan's departure and had decided to recognise Sidi Mohamed Ould Moulay Arafa as the new Sultan of the Sherifien Empire; a communiqué (copy of which I enclose) had subsequently been issued. After the decision had been taken the Grand Vizir had, in accordance with the normal tradition, sent declarations of allegiance to all the Pashas in order that they might obtain thereon the signatures of the leading notabilities in their districts who thus recognised the new sovereign. The enthusiasm demonstrated by the persons concerned, even by those who had not previously rallied to the Opposition movement, had exceeded even the greatest expectations. Members of the ex-Sultan's family had signed, and at Fez, the Ulema who had recently excommunicated the Glaoui had requested the privilege of being the first to sign. It was therefore abundantly clear that Sidi Mohamed Ould Moulay Arafa was not simply a figurehead; he enjoyed the respect and reverence of the majority of the Moroccan people and he had been appointed in accordance with the established procedure.

5. M. de Blesson had no doubt that the solution which had been arrived at was the only workable one. We ourselves were witnesses to the conditions in which it had become imperative and that it had been accepted without any outward sign of dissension by the Moroccan people. He trusted we would make this clear in reporting to our respective Governments.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador in Paris, the Acting British Consul-General at Tangier, his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, and the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar.

I have, &c.
H. L. B. COE.

Enclosure in No. 7

Extract from L'Echo du Maroc *dated August 21, 1953*

S.E. le Grand Vizir communique:

Le mouvement d'opposition qui s'est exprimé au cours des dernières semaines par la voix des pachas, caïds, chefs religieux et notabilités de l'Empire a fait apparaître les dissentiments profonds qui séparaient le Sultan et la population marocaine.

Malgré les efforts déployés par le gouvernement français dans un esprit d'apaisement en vue d'une conciliation, la tension entre les représentants des populations et le souverain régnant a atteint une extrême gravité.

Elle a mis en danger la tranquillité de l'Etat.

Il est apparu que, seul l'éloignement de Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef permettait, en ramenant le calme dans les esprits, de préserver le pays du péril des divisions et de rétablir le prestige traditionnel du Sultan.

Le Maghzen chérifien, réuni aujourd'hui sous ma présidence, a constaté, en conséquence que Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef ne pouvait plus assumer les obligations du pouvoir dont il était investi. Il décidé de reconnaître, en accord avec le gouvernement français, comme seul souverain légitime de l'empire chérifien, Sidi Mohamed Ould Moulay Arafa, sur qui s'est porté le choix des représentants de la population marocaine.

Puisse Dieu assister notre maître et inspirer sa conduite pour le bien de la religion et le bonheur des populations. Nous invitons les habitants du Maroc à considérer l'avenir avec la confiance et l'espoir que justifient les hautes vertus du Souverain.

JM 1015/91 No. 8

HER MAJESTY'S CONSUL-GENERAL'S COMMENTS ON THE RECENT CRISIS RESULTING IN THE ENTHRONEMENT OF SIDI MOHAMED OULD MOULAY ARAFA

Mr. Consul-General Freese-Pennefather to Lord Salisbury. (*Received September 7*)

(No. 72. Confidential) *Rabat,*
My Lord Marquess, *September 2, 1953.*

I have the honour to refer to Mr. Coe's despatches Nos. 60 and 64 of the 17th and 22nd of August, in which he reported the official version of the recent crisis as given to the Consular Corps by the Minister Delegate at the Residency General. Whatever criticisms may be levelled against the action of the Protectorate Authorities, or against their inaction in the earlier days, there appears to be general agreement that the crisis was admirably stage-managed to pass off so smoothly: and excepting at Oujda there was surprisingly little civil disorder or bloodshed for an event of such major importance. The speed moreover with which the new Sultan was installed, with every detail of ceremonial in its place, shows the extreme efficiency with which all contingencies had been provided for.

2. As stated in paragraph 5 of Mr. Coe's despatch No. 60 the explanations of M. de Blesson were by no means accepted at their face value by the Consular Corps nor indeed would they be by outside observers with whom I have spoken. In my view the essential feature of this crisis, and of the events which have led up to it, is that the struggle has been one between determined personalities, both French and Moroccan, who have been encouraged by their opportunities at a time when French Governments have been weak and have had enough problems elsewhere not to wish risking their future by committing themselves to a clear and consistent policy towards this country. Since General Juin's unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Sultan in February 1951, these personalities had progressively hardened in their determination and each felt that he could count on sufficient support in Paris and elsewhere to win or to justify his cause. Among these must indeed be counted some of the senior Protectorate officials whose duty, however, it was to carry out, against hitherto obstinate opposition, the obligations of the Protecting Power as given in Article I of the Treaty of Fez, and also to safeguard the French stake here which in terms of population and of economic assets had grown immeasurably since 1912: they had, in addition, to reckon with the repercussions of their decisions in Algeria and Tunisia. They well knew the strength of their local forces for maintaining law and order, and were in a position to gauge how much they could or could not achieve without risking a major internal upheaval. The absence of a French Government during the crucial weeks of May and June last and the internal pre-occupations of the Government at the beginning of August—together with the frequent absences of the Resident-General himself—left the way open for events here to take their course with relatively little interference from higher authority. In a communiqué issued on the 20th of August the French Government have expressed their intention of ensuring closer co-operation in the future between the Metropolitan and the Protectorate authorities.

3. I venture to submit that it is against this general background that the succession of events leading up to the enthronement of the new Sultan should be viewed, but this does not by any means absolve the administrators here from all criticism. After the suppression of the Casablanca riots of December last it was confidently hoped that, with the Sultan isolated from his normal sources of political support, some progress with reforms could be achieved. Opinions differed in the Residency as to the methods of approach, some thinking that a gesture to the Sultan might win him over and others that, in the last resort, reforms might have to be imposed without his prior consent (paragraph 4 of my letter No. 41/1/9 to Mr. Allen of the 21st of January last refers). In this latter event, after the many months of fruitless dialogue which led up to the Istiqlal-inspired riots, the Protectorate authorities and the French Government might have had plausible arguments with which to excuse themselves for having taken the law into their own hands, hoping that the Sultan might acquiesce in their action later. In personal relationships, moreover, it was surely the moment to play up to him, at least in small ways, since his personal vanity was considerable, but instead of this his European contacts here apart from officials appear to have remained very restricted. At the beginning of the year valuable weeks and indeed months were lost in a stalemate which each side appeared to regard with suprising equanimity and the "Opposition forces" were beginning to rally without hindrance from the Protectorate authorities. In the resulting atmosphere of mutual suspicion and mistrust the Sultan must have been all the more prone to welcome the encouragement and advice he was receiving from M. François Mauriac and others in France.

4. It was, however, in May and June that the "organised dissidence" was allowed to assume proportions of which the ex-Sultan could legitimately complain, when the petition of the Pashas and Caids called for nothing less than his dethronement: in this connexion I have the honour to refer to paragraphs 4 and 8 of my despatch No. 37 of the 9th of June and to my letter No. 41/1/91 to Mr. Allen of the 25th of June. The Resident-General for the most part was absent from Rabat, there was no French Government and M. de Blesson has told me that the whole movement could have been called off without difficulty even up to the end of June provided that the Sultan had made any concessions whatever but during these weeks, he maintains, His Majesty was badly advised by his friends in Paris. I believe that at this stage, and indeed considerably later, the Protectorate authorities being essentially realists, would have much preferred to win, or to frighten, the Sultan over to their side. They clearly could not have faced the consequences of deposing him themselves and, with his personal prestige among his subjects, the projected reforms should have been considerably easier to implement even though the Istiqlal and the Arab League would have doubtless branded them as having been obtained under duress. Then at the beginning of July the Sultan sent to the French Government a memorandum about reforms which unfortunately appears to have required several weeks' study in Paris when the time factor was becoming serious.

5. Events marched quickly and after the Glaoui's tour at the beginning of August I doubt whether, short of a dramatic gesture by the Sultan, their course could have been changed, though General Guillaume has been criticised for not returning sooner from France when the determination of the Pashas and Caids was becoming

increasingly apparent. The Glaoui had not only his age to consider but also his personal prestige among his followers, who had been alerted once for the attempted *coup* against the Sultan in 1951 and had now visited that fatal place, the tomb of Moulay Idriss, to reaffirm their determination this time to pursue their purpose to the end. In the negotiations which followed I am reliably informed that it was not so much the Glaoui as the Pashas and Caids who were adamant against any compromise. The initial choice of M. Boniface as a negotiator (outside his own "région") may well have looked unfortunate and suspicious but considering his long service in the south and his personal knowledge of both the Arab and Berber languages it does not seem entirely unreasonable that he should have been selected for this task: despite their well-known personal sympathies in the matter I have been reassured that both he and M. Vallat fully complied with their instructions. The introduction into the negotiations of M. Vimont, who was Shereefian Counsellor here from 1947 to 1949 and is now M. Bidault's Chef de Cabinet, was devised, according to the Cabinet Diplomatique, to enable the French Cabinet's emissary to assure them at first hand that every effort for a compromise had been made but that the prospects were hopeless. (The appointment of Sidi Mohamed ben Moulay Arafa as "Imam of the Faithful," to take over the spiritual powers of the Sultan, would never have been acceptable in this country and everyone knew it.)

6. Finally there is the question of whether or not the Berber tribesmen could have been prevented from closing in on Rabat or if after their arrival they could have been made to withdraw without violence or bloodshed. Here, and also at Fez and doubtless elsewhere, the tribesmen appear to have been lightly armed, many of them carrying only sticks, and it has been suggested that they did in fact arrive with the prior knowledge of the Protectorate authorities who doubtless considered that after the failure of M. Vimont's mission, the abdication or deposition of the Sultan was imminent. Several hundred of them were stationed at the Tour Hassan, near the Consulate-General and watering facilities had been laid on for their horses by the local authorities, who closed a street for passing the necessary piping. From this and from other reports it seems possible that the tribesmen were deliberately admitted with a view to countering any desire on the part of the inhabitants of the Medina (whether Istiqlal or others) to organise demonstrations in favour of the Sultan, and indeed in case the authorities themselves should find that their available security forces were inadequate to deal with disorders. The danger of such a move lay in the fact that, once the tribesmen had been allowed to act, it would probably have been quite impossible to restrain them without recourse to force, and since all they knew was that they had come here on the instructions of the Glaoui, it might have been equally dangerous for any other authority, including the French, to have attempted to turn them back. General Guillaume stated that they could not have turned machine guns on their friends in order to protect the Sultan, but in my view there were other and more serious considerations in this decision than the French authorities would have been prepared to admit either before the assembled Consular Corps or in public. Firstly, any action involving casualties would not only have alienated the Berber chieftains whose support was necessary for the future administration of the zone but would also doubtless have been immediately followed by widespread attacks on French "colons" and others in the country districts; it is relatively easy to keep order in the towns, where the European and native quarters are separate and where the army and police are stationed with good intelligence services, but the same cannot be said for the countryside where distances are great and farms are often off the beaten track. Secondly, the army itself might understandably have become divided in its allegiance and the story is current that only a small quantity of ammunition had been issued to Moroccan troops in case they should give trouble. And thirdly, the report of any major clash of this kind might have affected the loyalty of Moroccan regiments now fighting in Indo-China.

7. If the above explanations are even approximately correct, it would appear that the only possible outcome was, in fact, the elimination of the Sultan, and General Guillaume has never, since my first interview with him in November 1951 (my despatch No. 50 of the 20th of November, 1951), actually excluded the possibility of this happening, if his determined and sincere efforts to win him over should fail. M. Baudouy, Chef de Cabinet Diplomatique, said he was glad that the Sultan did not abdicate since this would have given him many more claims on the French and it is indeed understandable that he should not have done so. At the early age of 44, accompanied by his very politically-minded son, he and his family may well become an embarrassing liability as guests of the French Government in years to come, but General Guillaume is content to say that he is no longer his own responsibility, and justification for recent events will partly rest on the diligence with which the French use their new strength to fulfil their obligations towards Morocco as the Protecting Power.

8. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris and Madrid, his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar, and the Acting British Consul-General at Tangier.

I have, &c.
H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

JM 1015/95 No. 9

IMPRESSIONS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION IN MOROCCO AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

Mr. Consul-General Freese-Pennefather to Lord Salisbury. (*Received September 7*)

(No. 73. Confidential) *Rabat,*
My Lord Marquess, *September 2, 1953.*

With reference to my despatch No. 72 of to-day regarding the deposition of the ex-Sultan, I have the honour to submit to your Lordship the following impressions on the present situation and on the prospects for the future although the impact of recent events is still too fresh to have made itself felt throughout the country.

2. Persons with whom I have spoken, including my United States colleague, generally agree that the position of the Protectorate authorities should for the present be much easier and stronger than it has been for a long time past. They have eliminated the major obstacle to the constitutional introduction of reforms by the deposition of the ex-Sultan; they have dealt a further blow to the Istiqlal and rounded up more of their henchmen, though no one pretends that the party is dead; and they have achieved all of this with the apparent acquiescence of the populace as a whole. A reliable journalist told me on the weekend that from his enquiries in various quarters he estimated that in the towns approximately 25 per cent. of the Moroccans were in favour of the new régime, 25 per cent. against and 50 per cent. indifferent; in the country areas the percentage of "indifferents" would obviously be far greater, and in any case the inhabitants would, for practical purposes, follow the line of their various "caids." In any event the alacrity with which Arabs here have changed their allegiances to suit their material prospects has been impressive, even for one who has witnessed a somewhat similar display of this kind at the time of the Rashid Ali *coup* in Iraq in 1941. The French doubtless realised that they could count on this and a senior official has expressed his respect to me for Si Bekkai—who sent in his resignation as Pasha of Sefrou—as being almost the only honest Arab official of the lot. In this connexion it may be interesting to note how disingenuously the Protectorate officials have cited the enthusiasm of the Berber tribesmen, who converged on Rabat and other towns, as evidence of the country being "almost unanimously" opposed to the ex-Sultan; it seems fairly obvious that these simple folk were merely complying with the orders of their caids, as was to be expected of them, with little understanding of the reason for their presence.

3. So far as internal security is concerned, the ex-Sultan's followers may well be numerous, particularly in Casablanca and Rabat, but the riots in Casablanca of last December showed how poorly armed they were compared with the French military and police forces, and most of their leaders were then, or have since been, taken into custody. In my interview with General Guillaume, however, on the 26th of August (my telegram No. 58 of that date) I asked him about the likelihood of the Istiqlal organising further disturbances, possibly at

the time of the United Nations debates; he thought that the difficulties in their way would be considerably greater than previously, but he immediately mentioned the Oujda affair (Mr. Coe's telegram No. 42 of the 17th of August) as if it were an episode which might be repeated. I am informed that on this occasion no less than twenty-two persons were killed and sixty-five wounded within a space of only ten minutes, at a time agreed for the assassins to kill the first European they saw; several Moroccan Jews also were among the victims. The officer commanding the area from Temara (15 kilom. south of Rabat) to the frontier of the Spanish Zone, and responsible for its security, has told me that there is no means of effectively anticipating or preventing terrorism of this kind and sincerely trusts that it will not recur, either in Casablanca or in Rabat where the scale of casualties would probably be very much higher. He did not consider this likely, but said that he would not be surprised if individual acts of sabotage or terrorism were to take place, when the Istiqlal had taken stock of their opportunities of making trouble in the manner adopted in Tunisia; no further incidents have, however, been reported since the derailment of the train and the Casablanca skirmish to which I referred in my despatch No. 69 of the 28th of August. My informant said that conditions were far from satisfactory in the Oujda region where Si Bekkai's tribe, numbering some 40,000, were out of hand; they had offered to settle matters by making the traditional sacrifice of a bull, but the French had declined to accept this offering, since it would have prevented their asking for the surrender of the malefactors among them; it is intended instead to take military action there in some form in the middle of this month.

4. On the administrative side, the Protectorate authorities hope to publish the new reforms as soon as possible and in any case before the meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Most of the dahirs relating thereto were actually signed by the ex-Sultan, but they wish to submit them to the new Sultan for approval, partly as an act of courtesy and partly to avoid giving the impression that they have been imposed under duress. The reforms will cover municipal councils, regional assemblies, judicial reforms and the delegation of the Sultan's powers in administrative matters to the Grand Vizir who will exercise them on the advice of a small council composed of Moroccan visirs and French directors of Government departments. The future duties of the Council of Vizirs and Directors which was set up in 1947 (see Mr. Isherwood's despatch No. 39 of the 10th of July, 1947) will be redefined and a Franco-Moroccan Commission will be set up for the purpose of studying future reforms. The Sultan will retain all his personal powers as "Imam" in religious and related matters.

5. The introduction of these reforms will place Franco-Moroccan relations on a completely new footing and the Protectorate authorities hope that their pattern will safeguard the French position here for many years to come. When discussing reforms with me earlier in the year, General Guillaume had stressed that it was entirely justifiable for the French to have proper representation on the municipal councils, since these bodies would be concerned purely with their own internal affairs and politics would be strictly excluded (my letter No. 41/1/38 to Mr. Allen of the 1st of April last); M. de Blesson had also corrected me when I used the word "co-sovereignty" in a conversation with him, and explained that provided that French interests were safeguarded, they did not wish to share "sovereignty" with the Sultan in the constitutional sense (paragraph 4 of my letter No. 41/1/9 to Mr. Allen of the 21st of January last). The inference throughout was that under the successive reforms then contemplated the position given to the French would in no way prejudice the ultimate prospect of the Moroccans having complete sovereignty in political matters when it eventually came to the setting up of a legislative body or parliament of their own. In a conversation with me last week, however, M. de Blesson spoke in a rather different vein and said that owing to the exceptionally large French interest here it would be difficult to contemplate with equanimity the prospect of Morocco ever becoming an independent but purely "native" state within the French Union—such as Ceylon or India where the United Kingdom residents and economic interests were proportionately much fewer in relation to those of the native population. When that time came, some new form of state might have to be devised to meet all necessary requirements and to provide for continuing French participation in its national affairs. My Netherlands colleague criticises the reforms as a frank reversion to "colonialism," giving the French a tighter grip on the country than they have ever had in the past and thinks that the Algeciras signatories will have to keep a watchful eye to ensure that they are not progressively edged out of their commercial and other rights in this country.

6. The success with which the reforms can be implemented will, of course, depend largely on the extent to which the French can secure the co-operation of the youth of the country and train them to assume positions of responsibility. It is generally admitted that there are far too many French "petits fonctionnaires" who ought to be replaced by Moroccans, and higher offices should also be progressively filled by them as and when qualified candidates are available. In the past, however, young Moroccans who have studied in France have often returned with political sentiments which left them an easy prey for the Istiqlal and the latter were quick to hold out attractive prospects to them for the day when they came into power, provided that they did not first contaminate themselves by working for the French. After the successive set-backs which the Istiqlal has recently suffered the Protectorate authorities hope that some of these younger men may come over to their side; it is certainly most important that they should make a genuine effort to secure their services and that they should give them fair opportunities of advancement. The other elements to consider are the already existing political parties and it will be interesting to see whether, at some later stage, a few of the more moderate nationalists, including some members of the Parti Démocrate de l'Indépendence who have broken from the Istiqlal, could not be induced to co-operate in public affairs; but the time for this has not come yet.

7. For the rest, misgivings at present principally centre round the influence which may now be wielded by the "victors" in the recent events—namely the "colons" and industrialists on the French side and the Glaoui and his followers on the other. So far as the Glaoui is concerned, the Protectorate authorities have often spoken to me of his forceful independence and, if their own version of recent events is accepted, it was he and his followers who called the tune. I am reliably informed that the authorities are taking precautions to ensure that the pashas and caids should not use their recent victory to pay off personal grudges, but it remains to be seen whether at some future date the Berbers may not put forward demands demands which the French may be unwilling to concede, such as points relating to reforms which may run counter to their feudal traditions. It will, however, probably take some months to see how far the "victors" intend, or are allowed, to enforce their will in the building up of the new régime.

8. The healthiness of the new situation is variously assessed here, opinions depending largely on the individual political outlook of the person with whom one is speaking. The economic and political development of the country should now be considerably accelerated and its future should be more firmly cemented to the fortunes of the West. As General Guillaume said to me in my recent interview, any further success for the Istiqlal would have seriously jeopardised the French position throughout North Africa and it will be interesting to see how far their prestige in that area may be reaffirmed if they pursue a realistic and progressive course in their future administration of this Protectorate. It would therefore seem to be clearly in the interest of Her Majesty's Government to support the French up to the hilt in their new venture, without becoming involved in the rights or wrongs of the past crisis; the French who insist that the administration of this country is a domestic responsibility of their own will hardly expect other countries to act also as apologists for their recent actions.

9. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris and Madrid, and the acting British Consul-General at Tangier.

I have, &c.

H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

JM 1013/14 No. 10

FRENCH MOROCCO: QUARTERLY POLITICAL REPORT

Mr. Consul-General Freese-Pennefather to Lord Salisbury. (*Received October 5*)

(No. 85. Confidential) *Rabat,*
My Lord Marquess, *September 30, 1953.*

With reference to my despatch No. 48 of the 1st of July, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report on the French Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended on the 30th of September.

2. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris and Madrid, his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and the Staff Officer (Intelligence) Gibraltar, the Regional Information Counsellor in Beirut, Her Majesty's Consuls-General in Tangier, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis and to Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca and the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations at New York.

I have, &c.
H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

Enclosure in No. 10

Quarterly Political Report, July–September, 1953

Internal

Nothing of consequence occurred in the month of July, but the following two months witnessed events which, apart from those of the war years, must rank as among the most important since the establishment of the French Protectorate in this country. The Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef was banished after a reign of twenty-five years and his cousin Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa, was proclaimed sovereign in his stead. The Security Council rejected a request from fifteen Arab-Asian countries "to investigate the international friction and the danger to international peace and security" resulting from this crisis, and in September the new Sultan approved a number of reforms, which his predecessor had refused to sign until the last week of his reign, for the delegation of his temporal powers and for the development of Franco-Moroccan democratic institutions in the Protectorate.

2. On the 4th of July the Resident-General left for Paris with a letter from the Sultan about the conditions in which he would accept the proposed municipal reforms, and returned to Rabat again on the 12th: he left again for France on holiday on the 20th.

3. At the end of the month the Glaoui, who had been in Europe since the middle of May, arrived in Casablanca where he was given a great ovation by his followers, and he set out at once with Sherif el Kettani to tour the country and follow up the campaign which had been launched earlier in the year with the petition of the Pashas and Caids for the dethronement of the Sultan. During his tour he visited Rabat on several occasions where he saw officials of the Residency and the Sultan published an appeal to the French Government for a peaceful settlement of the Moroccan problem. The Glaoui and his followers were much encouraged by their tour and their determination became menacing. General Guillaume therefore returned to Rabat bringing with him the French Government's reply to the Sultan's remonstrances, and on the 13th of August he and the Sultan signed a protocol, which was published two days later, outlining reforms to which the Sultan had now agreed. These related to municipal councils, justice and regional assemblies, and also to the delegation of the Sultan's temporal powers which would in future be exercised on the advice of councils composed of French and Moroccan officials.

4. On the same date a large meeting was held at Marrakesh at which the Glaoui and his followers discussed their line of action and settled on their candidate for the Sulanate, Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa, whom they wished to name in their weekly Friday prayers on the following day: the Director of the Interior, M. Vallat, left at once to bring the situation under control, if he could, and with M. Boniface (Chef de Région at Casablanca) persuaded them to postpone their action for twenty-four hours. Early on the 15th of August the Resident-General arrived at Marrakesh accompanied by M. Vimont, who had served here as Shereefian Counsellor and was now M. Bidault's "chef de Cabinet." After five hours of negotiation the maximum concession they secured was that the French Government should decide on the future of the throne; the Glaoui, and more especially his followers, insisted that Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa must be proclaimed "Imam of the Faithful," to take over from the Sultan all his religious powers, and they did this the same evening. The Sultan refused to accept this destitution of his spiritual authority and withdrew his consent to the reform decrees which he had signed. On the 16th he issued a long communiqué about his plight in which he appealed to the French Government and to his people for their support, and the Pashas and Caids published a statement calling for his deposition and reaffirming their determination to accomplish it. During these last two days clashes had occurred in Marrakesh and Casablanca, involving loss of life; the most serious, however, took place at Oujda where over twenty Europeans were killed and many more wounded within a very short space of time, in accordance with a plan which had been prearranged by terrorists.

5. On the 17th of August General Guillaume and M. Vimont returned to Paris, where they reported to the French Government on the difficulties they had encountered during their negotiations. On the 18th Berber tribesmen started out towards Rabat and Fez, where they arrived in large numbers in the course of the next two days. In the early hours of the 20th General Guillaume arrived in Casablanca with instructions to take whatever steps might be necessary for the maintenance of public order and the future of the throne. He conferred at once with the Protectorate authorities and then with the Glaoui, but by then the prospect of a settlement by negotiation was hopeless. At 2 p.m. he went to the Palace to explain the position to the Sultan and to make it clear that only his abdication could save the country from internal strife. His Majesty asked time for reflection, but General Guillaume replied that his decision must be taken forthwith and that he must leave the country at once. He refused to abdicate and was thereupon escorted, together with his two sons, to the nearest aerodrome where an aircraft was awaiting to fly them to Corsica.

6. The crisis had come to a head with great rapidity, and it might have been expected that serious disorders would follow but, largely owing to the strong military precautions which had been taken it passed off with remarkably few disturbances. Steps were immediately taken to conform to the necessary procedure for the proclamation and installation of the new Sultan, and the same evening the centenarian Grand Vizir convened the Maghzen who proclaimed Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa as the only legitimate sovereign of the Shereefian Empire; he is aged 64 and a cousin of his predecessor. The following day ceremonies of allegiance were held in different parts of the country and the Ulema at Fez except for one absentee, unanimously granted the new Sultan the investiture by which his power is traditionally consecrated. On the 22nd of August he made his formal entry into Rabat, where he received the Resident-General at the Palace and held a reception at which the Consular officers in the French Zone, the officials of the Protectorate and other notables were presented to him: the consular officers of the United States did not attend but were presented to His Majesty at a later date when their newly-appointed diplomatic agent made his first official call.

7. On the 26th of August a debate opened in the Security Council of the United Nations regarding a request made by fifteen Arab-Asian countries that it should "investigate the international friction and the danger to international peace and security" resulting from the recent crisis and "to take appropriate action under the Charter." When the vote was taken for the inclusion of the item on the council's agenda (for which seven supporting votes are necessary) only five countries voted in favour, namely, Chile, China, Lebanon, Pakistan and the Soviet Union; Colombia, Denmark, France, the United Kingdom and the United States voted against; Greece abstained.

8. Elsewhere in the international field Spain was the country most directly affected by the crisis and expressed strong resentment at not having been consulted by France regarding her actions. In the Spanish Zone the ex-Sultan's name continued to be used in the Friday prayers at the mosques though in Tangier the new Sultan was accepted without delay. At Tetuan the fact that the Khalifa happened to be the new Sultan's son-in-law did not simplify the situation.

9. Since the accession of the new Sultan the country has remained quiet except for sporadic acts of aggression and sabotage; some have been serious, but they do not appear to have yet been co-ordinated or directed by any political or other organisation in any marked degree. An attempt was made by a fanatic on the Sultan's life on the 4th of September when he was riding to prayer in the traditional ceremonial procession. The assailant drove through the ranks of onlookers and guards in a twenty-year-old car and, having knocked down the

Sultan's horse, drew a knife, but he was promptly seized and killed. The Sultan completed the short distance to the mosque on foot, where he presided at the prayers. He returned to the Palace in his State coach, and his complete composure throughout won him widespread admiration.

10. At the beginning of September His Majesty issued a proclamation in which he announced his decision to simplify ceremonial at the Palace and to eliminate any acts which could be regarded as veneration of his person; the " Feast of the Throne " and the two " Hedyas," with their lavish gifts and opportunities of extortion, would also be abolished. He outlined the objectives which he hoped to see achieved and exhorted his people to co-operate for the common good under the new régime, making a special appeal to the youth of the country. This proclamation was shortly followed by the announcement of the new reforms, some of which had been accepted by the ex-Sultan a few weeks previously but which were resubmitted to the new Sultan for his approval. They are designed to achieve three main objects:—

(1) to secure the separation of legislative, administrative, executive and judicial powers, and in particular to ensure that the Sultan's temporal powers should be exercised only in accordance with direction from responsible councils;
(2) to decentralise the machinery of administration and justice; and
(3) to set up " democratic " institutions in which Moroccans could take a more extensive part in the affairs of their country, alongside Frenchmen.

At the end of the month the political reforms had been signed, but the judicial reforms still await approval. The full programme is announced to be as follows:—

(i) Restricted councils, consisting of three French and three Moroccan members. On the advice of this council the Grand Vizir will dispose of most administrative matters formerly dealt with by the Sultan.
(ii) Council of Vizirs and Directors, consisting of fifteen French and fifteen Moroccan members. It will discuss all proposed legislation, other than that relating to religious matters or to the Constitution, and submit it for approval to the Sultan, who can refer proposals back for further consideration by the council but cannot overrule them.
(iii) Administrative *djemmas*. Small tribal councils have existed in large numbers since 1951, to deal with matters of purely local interest." Workmen's *djemmas* " have also been instituted in certain industrial undertakings and, if they prove satisfactory, they may furnish the basis for some sort of trades union organisation.
(iv) Municipal Councils. The principal towns have had Franco-Moroccan committees to deal with economic matters since 1917. The new reform provides for the number of councils to be increased and for their members to be chosen by election instead of nomination. It also widens their responsibilities very considerably.
(v) Regional Assemblies. These are to be established in each of the seven *regions*, and an equal number of French and Moroccans will be elected to them. They will be consultative and deal with economic, financial and social questions.
(vi) Conseil du Gouvernement. This organ which deals with the budget and is consultative, will retain its present functions. Its *troisieme collège*, however, which has been exclusively French in the past, will now also have Moroccan members. The French and Moroccan sections of the council, which have hitherto met separately, may now meet together.
(vii) The Judicial Reforms. These have not yet been published in detail. They will include reorganisation of the Maghzen tribunals and deprive the Sultan of some of the powers which he could previously exercise arbitrarily: Regional Courts of Appeal are to be created. A statute is to be introduced regarding the recruitment of magistrates, to attract a larger number of candidates for these posts, and a new Panel Code is to be introduced. As an interim measure, a *dahir* has been signed for the suppression of corruption among public officials.

11. Such are the events which have been crowded into the short space of two months and which have resulted in the French position in this zone being established on a completely different and on a much firmer footing than before. The " colons " have secured what they desired, but the Pashas and Caids will lose some of their traditional power and authority, and it remains to be seen how far their resentment will become vocal or embarrassing. The " Istiqlal " has suffered a set-back from which it will take long to recover and the " Parti Democrate de l'Indépendence " is also out in the cold: the " Parti Populaire Marocain " has been quick to establish itself in favour but, like the other minor parties, it is as yet of no serious account. The number of persons under detention has considerably increased and several familiar Moroccan characters on the political scene have either resigned or been relieved of their appointments. There has also been a general reshuffle among the Protectorate officials though, except for the retirement of M. Boniface, the higher ranks have not yet been much affected. It will take another three or more probably six months before the problems confronting this new régime can be properly assessed, but the present atmosphere of tranquillity, at any rate on the surface, is remarkable considering the violent changes which it has experienced during the quarter under review.

The Press

12. Although Morocco has occupied most of the front pages in the press since the beginning of August, other news of international interest has been fully covered: France, Korea and the Soviet Union have been the countries most in the public eye.

13. During the Moroccan crisis censorship was imposed on the press from the 19th of August for about ten days. This caused some bitterness, since foreign correspondents in the country were apparently able to send their telegraphic reports abroad unaltered, though with some delay, while reporters for the local press frequently had their messages cut. Relations between the press and the local authorities, especially police, have also been somewhat strained, as the result of measures said to have been taken by the latter to prevent the acquisition of information.

Visitors

14. As usual most of the visitors of note have been Americans. General L. Norstad, Assistant to the Supreme Commander of the Supreme Headquarters of Allied Powers in Europe, visited Morocco in July to inspect the strategic air bases: three American Senators, members of the Armed Services Committee, came for the same purpose in September. Mr. Norman Thomas, the American Socialist leader, was here as a journalist in the early days of the recent crisis, and Mr. James Farley, the former Democratic leader, visited the country immediately afterwards. In a statement to the press the latter said that the French had handled the recent crisis in the only way possible and expressed his satisfaction at the resulting situation. Mr. Theodore Achilles, the American Minister in Paris, made a rapid tour of North Africa in September, which is understood to have been for the purpose of informing American Foreign Service Officers of his Government's policy towards this area since the crisis.

15. Mr. Archibald Day, Minister at the Canadian Embassy in Paris, came here in September primarily on a holiday, but also to acquaint himself with present conditions and the political problems of the zone.

16. M. de Chevigné, the French Minister of War, attended the autumn manœuvres in the " région " of Oujda.

CHAPTER II.—SPANISH MORROCO

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JM 1013/9 No. 11

POLITICAL REPORT, JANUARY–MARCH, 1953

Mr. Consul-General Wikeley to Mr. Eden. (*Received May 4*)

(Enclosure to Tetuan P/L despatch No. 13 of April 28, 1953)

General

1. Nothing occurred during the quarter to disturb the tranquillity recorded in previous reports. There were no events of importance and the National Reform Party did little or nothing to justify its existence as

a political entity. The High Commissioner flew to Oujda on the 20th of January to meet General Guillaume and thus return the visit to the Spanish Zone paid by the Resident-General in December 1951. He subsequently inspected the progress of the work on the Muluya irrigation scheme.

Political Parties

2. The National Reform Party, which for the last six months has become increasingly inactive, now appears to be almost moribund. Its relations with the Spaniards have deteriorated to the point where the party has decided to suspend all public activity in the zone until satisfaction is obtained for what the party members consider to have been a public affront put on their leader on the 27th March. On that occasion Abdul Khaliq Torres was about to address an indoor meeting of Moroccan youth when the microphone installed for his speech was removed by emissaries of the Pasha of Tetuan (allegedly on instructions from the High Commission) and Torres was told he could speak but without the microphone. This he refused to do. The news of the incident was broadcast from Cairo some days later.

3. The reform Party have similarly made use of the Cairo broadcasting station to make their view known, which they no longer trouble to hide in Tetuan, that bad as the situation of the Moors may be in the French Zone, it is much worse here. It is to be doubted whether this statement is based on anything more than a feeling of disappointment and frustration but the fact that it is being voiced, and the means have been found to have it broadcast in Egypt, is clear proof of the deterioration in the relations between the Nationalists and the Spaniards. The Spaniards are aware of this and their reaction, instead of being directed towards smoothing the ruffled plumes of the Nationalists (as might have been expected), has taken the form of getting together a team of tame Moors to tour the countryside, complete with cars and loudspeakers, to convince the people of the benefits conferred on the zone by the Spanish Administration.

4. The Spanish-sponsored Free Morocco Party (*al Maghrib al Horr*), which was created a little over a year ago as a counter to the National Reform Party, seems to have died: nothing at all has been heard of it during the quarter.

5. The anniversary of the signature of the treaty of Fez (30th March) was not celebrated in any way, though some of the Moorish shops in Tetuan closed for the day as the result of discreet pressure from the National Reform Party.

Communism

6. There is nothing to report.

The Khalifa

7. There is nothing to report.

Spanish Administration

8. The creation of Rural Committees (see paragraph 8 of the report for the last quarter) has been proceeding though not without continued opposition from the villagers. In some places considerable pressure had to be used to get the electors to vote and there have been some slight incidents entailing the arrest and imprisonment of recalcitrants. It is stated that there will eventually be some 430 Rural Committees grouping 3,000 villages: about half this number of Rural Committees have now been set up.

9. In January the High Commissioner, after the meeting with General Guillaume, made an extensive tour of the Eastern parts of the zone. He visited Spain from the 1st to the 5th March and, later in the same month, he toured the Western districts of the zone.

Press and Radio

10. Marshal Tito's visit to the United Kingdom gave rise to a number of articles critical of the Marshal and his régime and especially of his policy towards the Catholic Church. Her Majesty's Government came in for some blame for having instigated the visit and for maintaining friendly relations with the present Government of Yugoslavia.

11. The restriction on the entry of Nationalist newspapers from the French Zone has continued and the Tangier *Ash-Shaab* has been included in the restrictive measures.

12. All publications arriving in the Zone from the Middle East are now subject to censorship: this is a revival of an earlier administrative measure which had fallen into disuse but has now been revived.

13. The Coronation of Her Majesty The Queen has been the subject of a number of anodyne references in the local Spanish press, and the death of Her Majesty Queen Mary was the occasion for very sympathetic references to the life and activities of that Royal Lady.

14. A new broadcasting station called Radio Derse has taken the place of the *Voz de España* in Tetuan. The new station started functioning in February, is of 10 kW. and broadcasts in Spanish and Arabic on 330 and 49·45 metres. Much more time is given to programmes in Arabic than formerly and the programmes now end with the playing of the Khalifan anthem. The programmes are strictly censored by the Spanish authorities. It is considered by many that the new station was instituted, in part at least, to enable the Administration to counter, when they consider it necessary, Arabic broadcasts from the B.B.C. and the Voice of America.

World Affairs

15. The death of M. Stalin gave rise to a number of rumours and speculations. Marshal Tito's visit to the United Kingdom came in for much criticism. The labour troubles involving Spanish workmen in Gibraltar have been followed with interest. At least one article in the *Diario de Africa* expressed the hope that Her Majesty's Government are slowly revising their policy in regard to Spain in the sense of closer co-operation and understanding. The Spanish Foreign Minister's visit to the Far East was favourably commented on, as also his reported talks with the Pakistan Government in Karachi.

Miscellaneous

16. Her Majesty's Ambassador in Madrid and Lady Balfour paid an all too short visit to Tetuan early in January. His Excellency was received by the Khalifa and the High Commissioner and the latter gave a lunch party in the Ambassador's honour. The visit received much favourable comment in the local press and radio. In February the Italian Ambassador in Madrid visited the zone for three days. On the 5th of February the High Commissioner received the visit of Colonel Jones, the American Air Attaché at Madrid, who was accompanied by Colonel Rude, another American Air Force Officer.

JM 1013/12 No. 12

QUARTERLY REPORT, APRIL–JUNE, 1953

Mr. Consul-General Wikeley to Lord Salisbury. (*Received July 27*)

(Enclosure to Tetuan P/L despatch No. 18 of July 22, 1953)

General

Little or nothing of consequence took place during the period under review. The National Reform Party continued to remain almost completely inactive and the zone continued to enjoy complete tranquillity.

Political Parties

2. Relations between the Spaniards and the National Reform Party continued to be acrimonious. In May the High Commission (possibly in retaliation for the use by the party of Cairo Radio for ventilating their grievances—see report for previous quarter) ordered the Moorish Mayor of Tetuan to instruct the heads of the Moorish workmen's guilds to stop the men subscribing to the party's funds, thus dealing a nasty blow to the party's already very shaky finances.

3. Both the party leader, Abdulkhaliq Torres, and his No. 2, Tayib Bennuna, seem to be losing prestige, even among their own followers, because of rumours now circulating regarding the immorality of their private lives.

4. Only twice during the quarter did the party leaders make any effort to dissipate the lethargy which has progressively taken possession of them in recent months. In April Torres, claiming to speak in the name of the Nationalist Front, produced an article in the Tangier *As-Shaab* taking up the cudgels on behalf of the Sultan in opposition to the activities of the Glaoui-Kettani faction. About the same time, and with the same object, Torres and his supporters started collecting signatures to a kind of declaration of loyalty to the Sultan and this document was eventally sent off to Rabat. Torres claimed his gesture had the support of the Khalifa, but it was noted that many members of the Khalifan "Government" refused to sign while the Khalifa himself found another means of expressing his loyalty to his Sovereign: he sent two

emissaries post haste to Rabat to enquire after the Sultan's health and delayed the despatch of the declaration of loyalty until it was certain his message had got in first.

5. In the middle of June Ibrahim al Wazzani left Tetuan for Madrid *en route* for Egypt and travelling, it was said, at the request of his relative Hassan al Wazzani leader of the Moroccan Democratic Party, then in Cairo. It is stated he received 80,000 francs from Democratic Party funds towards the expenses of his journey and that the Spanish High Commission kindly added 5,000 pesetas, but not before obtaining a written statement that Ibrahim would not indulge in anti-Spanish activities in the Middle East. This undertaking was, in fact, the price paid for permission to leave the zone; the money was just so much sugar on the pill. In the event, Ibrahim al Wazzani was stated to be still in Madrid at the end of the quarter.

6. In June Abdurrahman al Yusfi, a member of the Istiqlal residing in Tangier, was refused entry into the zone despite having made a special trip to Madrid, and having spent several weeks there, in the hope of obtaining the necessary permission.

Communism

7. There is nothing to report.

The Khalifa

8. Apart from the gesture mentioned in paragraph 4 above, there is nothing to report.

The Administration

9. A special supplementary allocation of 12 million pesetas out of the ordinary budget of the zone was made in June for the development of agriculture.

10. In order to protect the peasants against a fall in the prices of barley resulting from bumper crops in the Kert and other regions, the Administration has been buying locally grown barley at the official price of 2·20 pesetas a kilog., which is much higher than the current market price. This measure has caused considerable satisfaction.

11. The Khalifa's Privy Council, first founded in 1947, has been reorganised and enlarged by the appointment of several new members and the decision that the Khalifa's brother-in-law should be vice-president. The President is the Khalifa's eldest brother. This measure, the object of which is not clear (unless it is just to provide a few more sinecures for favourites of the Administration) has aroused little interest.

Press and Radio

12. In April the bi-lingual *El Dia–An Nahar,* which has been appearing daily since April 1, carried some surprisingly outspoken Nationalist material in the shape of comments by the owner, Si Mohammed Bulaish Baeza, who is a wealthy Moor of Spanish nationality married to a Spanish lady. This was a flash in the pan, however, perhaps not unconnected with Franco-Spanish bickering, and the paper soon returned to its customary level of placid dullness.

13. The Tangier *As Shaab* of May 13, carrying the account of the National Reform Party's loyal gestures (see paragraph 4 above) and several subsequent numbers were banned by the Administration.

14. The Tetuan *Diario de Africa* of April 16 recorded an audience granted to its special correspondent, Sr. R. Santamaria Quesada, by the Sultan in Rabat. The Monarch's replies to Sr. Quesada's rather ingenuous questions were innocuous, but the episode is reported to have annoyed the French.

15. The Coronation of Her Majesty The Queen was favourably and copiously reported in the local press which had, indeed, been publishing anticipatory articles for some months before the event. The *Diario de Africa,* however, was critical of Her Majesty's Government and, particularly, of the Prime Minister on a number of occasions, seeking to exploit (and always to our disadvantage) the differences of opinion which arose during the quarter between Her Majesty's Government and the United States Government and trying to make the former appear in the light of appeasers of the Kremlin. The invitation extended to the Glaoui to visit London as the guest of the Prime Minister during the Coronation displeased the National Reform Party.

16. The Arabic *Al Anis* of Tetuan, which appears spasmodically, and the weekly *Al Maarifa* in May carried a detailed account of the dispute between Her Majesty's Government and Saudi Arabia over the Buraimi affair. It is known that the text published (which naturally gave only the Saudi Arabian side of the picture) was sent to the local press by the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Paris, and it is said that suitable rewards later reached the editors in the shape of remittances through the Casablanca branch of the Bank of Indo-China.

Impact of World Affairs

17. The Korean Armistice talks, the impending agreement between Spain and the United States, Sir Winston Churchill's and Mr. Eden's health and the postponement of the Bermuda conference all received local attention. The Suez Canal question continued to be followed with interest as well as some hostility towards Her Majesty's Government.

Miscellaneous

18. The High Commissioner toured the Western region of the zone in April, including a visit to the Moslem sanctuary of Jebel Alam in the Beni Aros district. He visited Madrid for ten days in May.

19. The only Moorish general in the Spanish Army, Major-General Mohammed ben Mizzian bel Kassem, hitherto military commander of Ceuta, was promoted to Lieutenant-General in June and is to be transferred to command the Galician region in Spain.

20. Professor Walter Starkie, of the British Council in Madrid, visited Tetuan early in April and gave a lecture which was highly applauded and much enjoyed.

21. An International Congress of Archæology was held in Tetuan for four days at the end of June.

22. The Coronation of Her Majesty The Queen was celebrated with much enthusiasm by the British colonies in Tetuan, Ceuta, Melilla and Larache. The High Commissioner and his wife attended an evening reception given by Her Majesty's Consul-General, and the High Commissioner and the Khalifa were represented at a reception given on the morning of Coronation Day.

JM 1013/15 No. 13

SPANISH MOROCCO: EXTRACT FROM THE QUARTERLY POLITICAL REPORT

Period July–September 1953

Mr. Consul-General Wikeley to Mr. Eden. (*Received October 19*)

(Enclosure to Tetuan P/L despatch No. 22 of October 14, 1953)

General

The zone was quiet throughout the period under review. Events in the French Zone, culminating in August in the deposition of one Sultan and the enthronement of another, had surprisingly little repercussions here. There is no doubt that the majority of the townsmen of Tetuan and other centres felt resentful and humiliated at what had happened; their emotions, however, were insufficiently aroused to drive them to any form of violent manifestation. So far as is known, the predominantly Berber tribesmen of the country regions, who form the majority of the population of the zone, showed little interest in events which they may have considered too remote to be of interest to them in their mountain fastnesses; possibly, also, the knowledge that the Glaui (who is, after all, the greatest of Berber chieftains) had approved, and indeed provoked the change of sovereigns, may have brought them to accept the accessions of a new Monarch with equanimity.

2. The administration coped with the crisis with an admirable mixture of foresight, flexibility and firmness which would have sufficed to control a much greater degree of popular disaffection than ever came to a head. At the same time the Spaniards were clearly determined to extract the fullest possible advantage for themselves from the difficulties of the hard-pressed French and the failure of the latter to consult them in regard to a matter of such importance. They immediately staged a melodramatic scene of injured innocence for public (and especially Moorish and Arab) delectation being careful, however,

to avoid committing themselves to any given line of action beyond that of wait-and-see. In private they at once started to see what the French were prepared to offer for Spanish recognition of the new Sultan and, at the end of the quarter, it seemed fairly certain that the French were prepared at least to agree to some minor frontier rectifications and the cession of the Beni Zarwal district to the Spanish Zone (this would prolong the Spanish Zone strategically towards Fez). It is likely, also, that the Spaniards have been asking for some change in the legal status of the zone and the Khalifa tending towards the termination of the "sub-tenant" status of Spain in Morocco deriving from the Franco-Spanish Convention of 1912. The Spaniards have always been dissatisfied that Fez, which is the natural geographical and economic hinterland of the Spanish Zone, was not included in the zone, and they have always resented the subordinate status to which, at any rate theoretically, they are limited by the treaty in question.

3. The new Sultan has not yet been officially recognised either by the Spaniards or the Khalifa. The name of the deposed Sultan is still being used in the mosques during the Friday prayers.

Political Parties

4. Events in the French Zone have provided the National Reform Party with what seems to be at least a temporary new lease of life. Not only was the deposition of the Sultan an event suitable in the highest degree for infusing fresh ardour into the hearts of lukewarm party members, but, for once at any rate, the population of Tetuan was all too ready to follow any lead given by the party. Furthermore, the deterioration of Franco-Spanish relations generated by the French failure to consult with the Spaniards in a matter so important as the change of Sultans, ensured that Abdul Khalak Torres and his followers would be allowed by the administration rather more liberty of anti-French speech and action than they have had hitherto. On August 21, accordingly, with official sanction (but with a guarantee of good behaviour previously given by Torres) the first public demonstration since 1948 took place in Tetuan. Several thousand people, after a religious service at the principal mosque, marched in procession to the Khalifa's palace carrying an enormous portrait of the deposed Sultan and subsequently went to the Moslem cemetery where prayers were said for those killed in the French Zone. Twice during the proceedings Torres harangued the crowd, slanging the French and calling upon all to unite behind the party in support of the Sultan and the independence of Morocco. The Khalifa received a deputation headed by Torres when the demonstrators reached the palace and assured them of his sympathy. The demonstration passed off in an orderly manner and there were no incidents.

5. The party's next move was to organise an expression of loyalty to the (deposed) Sultan which took the form of an act of contrition aimed at turning the Id-al-Kebir, the biggest Moslem feast of the year, then about to start, into a period of mourning instead of rejoicing. In this the party were only partially successful. There was, indeed, little of the usual holiday atmosphere, but the Khalifa, followed in this by at least half the population, failed to accept the party's suggestion that heads of households should refrain from killing (and subsequently eating) the sheep which is normally sacrificed by each family on the occasion of the feast. The party's appeal might have had more success if most families had not already acquired their sacrificial animal.

6. Other activities by the party included a telegram sent by Torres in mid-August to President Eisenhower warning him of the existence of a dangerous situation in Morocco and requesting his intervention, two manifestoes issued one before the event and one after (the latter expressing gratitude to the Spaniards for their attitude), and a telegram to the exiled Sultan in Corsica conveying expressions of loyalty and sympathy on the occasion of the death of the Sultan's mother. Times, however, are not so golden for the party as the preceding remarks might suggest. Torres's movements are still carefully watched by the Spaniards, he is forbidden to visit the tribesmen in their mountain homes, and no meeting of party members may take place without official permission, the application for which must be accompanied by a copy of the agenda.

7. In July Hassan al Wazzani, leader of the Democratic Party, came to rest in Ceuta where he remained until the end of the quarter, making sallies to Tetuan and elsewhere in the zone to contact the High Commissioner, the Khalifa and others. During his audience with General Valiño the latter is said to have declared that all Moroccan Nationalists were welcome to live in the zone so long as they refrained from destructive criticism and activities. His presence did not arouse much enthusiasm with the National Reform Party (he omitted to call on Torres!) but he, of course, joined in the chorus of anti-French protest when the crisis came to a head in the French Zone issuing a spirited manifesto calling for unity and resolution in the face of danger. Thereafter he was surprisingly silent and a theory is current that he has been got at by the French. At the height of the crisis a number of Nationalists from Tangier "sought refuge" in Tetuan, including Hassan Kassara and Abdel Kebir al Fassi of the Istiqlal and Mohammed Larbi Zuggari of Naciri's Unity Party.

The Khalifa

8. His Imperial Highness has been having some bad moments. A target for conflicting pressures stemming from the wait-and-see attitude of the Spaniards, from the feelings of humiliation and anger aroused in the Moors by French action, and from (undoubted) personal sympathy to the new Ruler to whom he is bound by close family ties, the Khalifa has been giving a very creditable imitation of a tight-rope walker. His public attitude was defined (rather vaguely) on August 25 when he had to reply to a speech made to him by the High Commissioner in which the latter sympathised with Moorish anxiety "in the crucial moments through which Morocco is passing" and belaboured the French for having taken such an important step without previous consultation with Spain. The Khalifa's reply, which was, as indeed was the High Commissioner's speech, mainly devoted to other and less controversial matters, ended with an expression of thanks to the Spanish Government for the attitude taken by them in the crisis and referred to "one whose heart God had filled with faith" and who had become "the lively symbol of sacrifice and a model of the spirit of redemption and courage." Having thus, as the result of Spanish pressure and the mood of his people, come down in this half-hearted fashion on the side of the exiled Sultan, the Khalifa almost at once proceeded to redress the balance by sending a personal message of loyalty to the new monarch. Although it is difficult to know exactly what was said, there is little doubt that a message of this kind was taken to Rabat by the Sultan's eldest son early in September when he left Tetuan, where he has lived for some years (he is married to the Khalifa's sister) accompanied by the Khalifa's chamberlain. It is reported that the Khalifa has been pressing the Spaniards to allow him to recognise the new Sultan and thus end the painful position in which he finds himself. It has been noticed, also, that he has been absent from the mosque on Friday mornings on several recent occasions (when his presence as leader of the prayers takes on the importance of a religious obligation) presumably so as not to have to be present when the previous Sultan's name is mentioned in the prayers. The reason given for his absence is that he has rheumatism, but this does not seem to prevent him from enjoying his regular Friday afternoon partridge shoot.

9. The relationship of the Khalifa to the new Sultan is that of nephew by marriage, his father's sister (formerly the wife of Sultan Moulay Hafid) being now married to the new Ruler. There are also other family ties including that of being brother-in-law to the new Sultan's eldest son.

JM 1013/3 No. 14

QUARTERLY REPORT ON THE SPANISH ZONE OF MOROCCO FOR THE PERIOD OCTOBER–DECEMBER 1953

Political Situation

As revealed by events, the High Commissioner's policy has had the double aim of presenting to the world a show of good relations between Spain and the Arab world and of emphasing in every practicable way the separateness of the Spanish Zone of Morocco from the French. To some extent

these two aims were found to be mutually compatible, but the inherent contradictions in his policy caused frequent indecision and confusion and by the end of the quarter were becoming more and more apparent.

2. The quarter opened with a gesture to the National Reform Party, their organ *Al Umma* being allowed to resume publication, as a daily, atfer a year's inactivity. At the same time preparations were begun for an eventual gathering in Tetuan of Caids and Pashas from the whole zone, for the presumed purpose of some declaration of defiance of the French and of support of Spanish policy. The name of the deposed Sultan continued to be used in the Mosques.

3. All this contributed to an impression of Arab-Spanish solidarity, but the divergent attitudes of the Spanish and the local Moorish politicians were brought into the open on the occasion of the anniversary of the accession of the deposed Sultan: the High Commissioner wished to celebrate the occasion as magnificently as possible in order to emphasise the difference between the Spanish and the French Zones: the National Reform Party wanted the occasion to be treated as a day of mourning out of respect for the exiled Mohammed V; the Khalifa did not want the occasion to be marked in any special way at all. In the event there was a compromise; the Moorish quarter of Tetuan was beflagged but the day was not declared a public holiday and flags were not flown on the Khalifa's palace nor on other official buildings. Two meetings were organised by the National Reform Party; the more important was held in the house of the party's leader, Si Abdul Khaliq Torres; proceedings were opened by Nehdi Benaune, recently returned from New York, who made a speech declaring it to be the duty of all the signatories of the Treaty of Algeciras to defend the integrity of Morocco wantonly attacked by France; in fact, he said, only Spain had supported the cause of Morocco. Abdul Khaliq Torres then praised Mohammed V; declared that the only free part of Morocco was the Spanish Zone and praised Spain for her attitude to the deposition. The meeting concluded with the decision to send a letter of thanks to General Garcia-Veliño. The result of the anniversary was thus an apparent restoration of Arab-Spanish harmony.

4. The High Commissioner attempted to further the process by twice receiving Ahmed Shukairi, Assistant Secretary-General of the Arab League, during his visit to Tetuan from the 8th to the 11th December. The latter, indeed, expressed his gratification at his reception from the Spanish authorities, but also struck his own note, one not favourable to the High Commissioner's separatist policy, for in one of his speeches he stressed the interest of the Arab League in the maintenance of the unity and integrity of Morocco and was rewarded with shouts from the assembly of "Independence." As a result of this episode he had to be hurried off on the Friday morning aeroplane to Madrid in order that he should not be able to appear at the mid-day prayers and possibly cause further excitement.

5. The unfavourable trend in relations between the High Commission and the National Reform Party received a further impetus on the 21st December when the Secretary-General of the party, Tayib Bennuna, and another party official, were arrested. Their offence was apparently to have insulted the High Commissioner in some letters written to Mehdi Bennuna while the latter was in New York; these letters were taken from him when he entered the Spanish Zone in November, but the Spaniards deferred action until Shukairi had left. The party apparently decided to adopt a submissive attitude and to regard the arrests as directed against these two men personally and not as a measure against the party; the party therefore kept quiet and there was no public reaction; at the end of the quarter the two men were still in prison. This episode, although not made the occasion for any anti-Spanish outburst in the Nationalist Reform newspaper, reminded the public and the party of the reality of Spanish power in this zone and of the danger of challenging it in any way. Another reminder of the essentially restricted nature of Spanish policy was provided by the practice of the police in refusing facilities for travel to Spain to all but a few Moorish applicants.

6. Meanwhile the Spanish High Commission had been busy in the countryside preparing the ground for an eventual meeting of the Caids and Pashas in Tetuan (paragraph 2 above). A group of Spanish-sponsored Moors toured the country districts and gave publicity to a draft manifesto praising Spanish action in not recognising Mulay Arafa and praising Spanish friendship for the Arab world; signatures of notables were secured on blank paper. By the end of the quarter it was not known to what use these signatures were to be put or what had become of the proposed gathering of Caids and Pashas: consequently the most exciting rumours obtained credence, favourites among them being that the Khalifa was to be proclaimed a Sultan of the Spanish Zone or that he was to make a formal declaration dissociating himself from Mulay Arafa and reaffirming his loyalty to Mohammed V. There seems little doubt that one or other of these two solutions would be very agreeable to the High Commissioner. But to secure either he would have to overcome the Khalifa's dislike of any final and irrevocable step which might among other things render his eventual recognition of Mulay Arafa impossible and he would have to risk bringing into the open against him the National Reform Party who attach much importance to the idea of Moroccan unity; the party have no prospect of successful action against the Spanish authorities but it would be awkward for the Spanish Government's "Arab policy" if spokesmen of the party outside the zone were to denounce the High Commissioner for impairing the unity and integrity of Morocco. The quarter therefore closed with Spanish policy in a state of uncertainty and confusion.

Administration

7. (1) During the quarter the Economic Delegation began to issue import licences without reference to Madrid, providing foreign exchange for the imports from the zone's holdings with the Banco Español in London.

(2) An example of administrative tyranny was provided in the expulsion from the zone, with no reason given, of Sr. Diaz Ostero, a Spanish Protestant pastor.

(3) British missionaries experienced increasing difficulty in securing the extension or renewal of their documents.

(4) Much needless inconvenience was caused to British travellers arriving in Tetuan by air in transit to Tangier because the Spanish authorities in Spain and elsewhere assured them, contrary to the facts, that visas were not needed for transit passengers; the Tetuan police acting on the local rule that such visas are necessary, made a practice of impounding the passports of such travellers. This Consulate-General was able in every case to arrange for the return of the passports and the resumption of the travellers' journey. It is hoped that the action taken by Her Majesty's Embassy in Madrid will stop this nuisance.

(5) In November a Law (Dahir) was issued dealing with tramps and malefactors. In fact it was so widely drawn that it could be used as a basis of action against persons who would not on any ordinary definition be regarded as vagabonds but who are unpopular with the Administration.

(6) Another important law issued in November substantially increased the Trades and Professions Tax. This has caused much discontent among Spanish and other merchants.

(7) General Cuesta Monereo, Delegate-General of the High Commission, was transferred to Algeciras as Military Governor. The Delegate for Native Affairs became Acting Delegate-General.

Press and Radio

8. There have been sporadic attacks on Great Britain about Gibraltar and a few articles criticising British international policy. There has also been a personal attack on Sir Winston Churchill.

Miscellaneous

9. King Idris of Libya passed through Tetuan on his way to Tangier on the 9th November. His visit had no political impact.

CHAPTER III.—INTERNATIONAL ZONE OF TANGIER

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JM 1013/1 No. 15

TANGIER : QUARTERLY POLITICAL REPORT

Quarter ended 31st December, 1952

Mr. Consul-General Muntz to Mr. Eden. (Received 12th January)

(No. 1. Confidential) *Tangier, 6th January, 1953.*

General

The discussion of the Moroccan case before the United Nations, the three-day celebration of the Sultan's accession, the rioting in Casablanca and the troubles in Tunisia led to some increase in the nervousness felt by the less stolid elements of the population. The business community were little influenced, and trade followed its usual autumnal course of awakening from the summer. The most significant event in the quarter was the signing on 10th November of the documents incorporating the reforms of the Statute under which the International Zone is administered, after weary months of tedious negotiation between the representatives on the Committee of Control.

Political Parties

Interest and most of the party leaders were concentrated on New York for the meeting of the United Nations for the better part of the quarter, though one prominent leader, Abdelkhalek Torres, who had returned to Tangier to live, disgruntled with his late Spanish friends, seemed to have plenty of assistant orators on the 25th anniversary of the Sultan's accession to the Throne. On this occasion some Nationalists had wished to arrange a theatrical display and a procession; but the Administrator, having made sure that the Committee of Control agreed, informed them that these demonstrations would not be allowed. Some of the speeches made during the three days' celebrations were, as was to be expected, of a subversive nature and caused the Administrator to revive the request he made earlier this year for an *assainissement politique*, *i.e.*, the expulsion of a number of Nationalists. The Committee of Control, considering the Administrator's request, decided to take no action until after the Sultan had approved the reforms of the Statute which were recently agreed.

On Christmas Eve, however, the French Consul-General, on instructions from Rabat, requested the committee to take action to prevent the return to Tangier of Nationalist leaders then in New York. Although the committee's discussion provided the first evidence of the Spanish desertion of the Nationalists in favour of the French, the necessary two-thirds majority for the motion was not forthcoming in the committee. The French authorities, with a view to preventing these Nationalist leaders landing in Tangier, subsequently informed the Administration that their passports were false. The one important leader who was here, Abdelkhalek Torres, was "invited" by the Spanish authorities, on the instigation of the French, to return to Tetuan and did so.

On the day of the Casablanca riots, 7th December, the Nationalists are alleged to have held a meeting in Tangier to discuss what action to take, but although the discussion is said to have been animated, prudence eventually prevailed. A day of mourning was declared here when the news of the United Nations decision on the Moroccan question became known, but there were no incidents and by no means all native shops were shut.

Administration and Committee of Control

Relations between the Administrator and the Committee of Control improved somewhat again during the quarter, although there was some sniping by the French and Belgian Consuls-General against the Portuguese Administrator, which attacks were resisted with more noise than skill by the Portuguese Consul-General.

The Belgian Assistant Administrator for Finance came under fire several times, and was not defended by the Belgian Consul-General, who has no time for him. The French and Spanish Consuls-General, though clearly very willing to attack the Assistant Administrator for Finance, avoided a repetition of their previous mistake when he was summoned before the Committee of Control, and they were defeated in verbal argument through lack of expert knowledge.

Relations between the Administrator and the Assistant Administrator for Finance, M. Troeder, on the one side and the Assembly on the other, are, however, as indifferent as before. The Assembly indulged, with malicious pleasure, in a good deal of criticism of the budget. The ordinary budget was eventually passed by the Assembly with certain modifications on 17th December, when M. Troeder, exasperated apparently beyond endurance, made a speech critical of the Assembly, which speech was promptly ruled "out of order" and not printed in the minutes of the meeting. The ordinary budget was approved with certain small modifications by the Committee of Control on 24th December. The extraordinary budget, to the sorrow of the Administrator, was not even considered by the Assembly, which postponed discussion thereof on the initiative of the British members until the New Year.

Reform of the Statute

Negotiations continued from the beginning of October until signature on 10th November, the line-up of the Powers' representatives remaining as it had developed towards the end of the last quarter: the Spanish and French on the one side with the Portuguese tending to join them; the United Kingdom, Netherlands and Italians on the other, with the Belgians tending their way. The United States Minister remained apathetic.

The agreements were duly submitted to the Sultan, and the inevitable crop of rumours resulted. The most likely to be true was that he was willing to approve the judicial reforms, but unwilling to approve the political reforms. The French Consul-General gave one reason for the delay in receiving an answer from Rabat, when he said that the Sultan had refused to read either of the agreements until they had been translated into Arabic.

Police

The present Chief of Police, who is due to depart under the reforms, with the support of the Administrator, continued throughout the quarter to make sporadic attempts to increase the existing force. At the end of December the Committee of Control decided that as the reforms cannot, in any case, enter into effect before 1st April, it would be advisable to allow the existing police to be increased from the present figure of 500 to the figure of 525, foreseen under the reforms for the general police. They also decided that the French and Spanish troops now here as the result of the riots last March should be changed, if possible, in such a way that when the reforms do come into force the squads now here may be incorporated in the special police.

Transfer of French Consul-General

As the presidency of the Committee of Control falls to France for 1953, it seems very doubtful if the French Government will agree to the departure of M. de Panafieu. He, himself, however, declines to admit that he is not going after all, so that his future is still a matter of speculation.

Suspension of United States Minister

Just before Christmas it was announced on the B.B.C. and published in the local Spanish newspaper that the Minister had been suspended from his duties as there were reasonable doubts as to his loyalty. Mr. Vincent received a telegram to this effect a few hours later. This extraordinary incident gave rise to some interesting demonstrations on the part of Mr. Vincent's colleagues, and on the part of the American Colony here in his favour. My colleagues were quite unrestrained in their expressions of disgust for the treatment he has received. Mr. Castillo remarked openly that the affair was reminiscent of the worst of totalitarian States; he hoped that the representatives here of democratic States would inform their Governments that such a thing could never happen in Spain.

Press

The press provided little of interest during the quarter. The Moroccan press concentrated attention on New York with a diversion expressing qualified approval of what were (with considerable accuracy) alleged to be the terms of the reforms of the Statute. These were made known to the world (despite agreement in the Committee of Control that they should not be) as a result of leaks on an increasing scale in Paris, Rabat, Rome and Madrid.

JM 1011/1 No. 16

TANGIER: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1952

Mr. Consul-General Muntz to Mr. Eden. (*Received 21st February*)

British Consulate-General,
(No. 16. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *11th February, 1953.*

I have the honour to transmit herewith my report on events in Tangier during the year 1952.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch and its enclosure to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar.

I have, &c.
T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure

Annual Report for the International Zone of Tangier for the Year 1952

The Spanish-Moroccan rapprochement, which had seemed at the end of 1951 to be in sight, was assiduously cultivated by the Spaniards during the first quarter, with the help of propaganda which, while Señor Artajo was touring the Middle East, was too good to be true. In February, when the Spaniards ostensibly made concessions to the Moroccan Nationalists, the Nationalist leader, Abdelkhalek Torres, returned from Tangier to Tetuan, was received by the High Commissioner and allowed to make speeches mentioning the dawn of liberty and so on. Despite appearances the experienced inhabitants of this zone believed that whatever the Spaniards might do or promise to do, they had no intention of making real concessions to the Nationalists. The general opinion was therefore that the much vaunted Spanish-Moroccan rapprochement was likely to be short-lived and unlikely to be of much benefit to Spain locally in the long run. The first of these forecasts was vindicated by events towards the end of 1952, though there can be no doubt that Moroccan hostility towards the French is still greater than that of the disappointed Nationalists towards the Spanish. Apart from this little flirtation, which was watched impassively, though with a certain amount of amused irritation, by the French in Tangier, the first quarter of the year was quiet until the scene was suddenly agitated by serious rioting on 30th March, which lasted for three hours and in which one European and at least eight Moors were killed. A Spanish *démarche* followed immediately afterwards in April, intended to destroy as far as possible the Anglo-French Agreement of 1945, and restore to Spain the position held under the 1928 and 1923 Agreements.

2. No really satisfactory evidence of the origin of the riots of 30th March was ever produced. It was variously alleged that they had been arranged by the Nationalists, by the Communists and by the Spaniards, who were known to have been anxious for a long time to demonstrate that the Anglo-French Agreement of 1945 was unworkable. There was some circumstantial evidence to support each of these theories, but no proof. Likewise the reports that looters had paid special attention to French property was disproved. They did not discriminate by race or creed. The most probable explanation is that they were a spontaneous explosion in an excitable crowd assembled on the Day of Mourning which had been declared by the Nationalists to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Fez. Whatever their origin, they proved beyond doubt the Spanish contention that the local police force was inefficient.

3. As an immediate consequence of the March disturbances and of the mood of near panic which prevailed for some days, the Committee of Control decided to ask the French and Spanish Zones to provide forces to reinforce the police. The difficulty of finding exact balance between the Spanish Moroccan cavalry and French armoured cars, and difficulties due to policy or inefficiency on the part of the Spaniards in allowing the French forces to cross their zone, caused a few days' delay, but on 3rd April, eighty Spanish cavalry and five French armoured cars arrived and have been here ever since. When the Committee of Control first considered asking for forces from outside, it was suggested in the committee that there might be a symbolic British contingent. The following day the Spanish representative objected on the grounds that only French and Spanish forces can constitutionally be asked to keep order here. (Indeed, the Spanish Consul-General on returning from a visit to Madrid, contended that not even those forces should have been invited under the existing statute.) Though it had never been intended that Her Majesty's forces should come under the command of the local police like the French and Spanish forces, formal disagreement with the Spanish thesis was registered in the Committee of Control by Her Majesty's Consul-General to the obvious satisfaction of other members. H.M.S. *Loch More* arrived the day after the French and Spanish troops, and remained for a normal informal visit of some days until the atmosphere was calmer. It was perhaps no coincidence that a minute Spanish gun-boat put in an appearance a day after the arrival of H.M.S. *Loch More*, and was fortunately discovered and fêted by the commander of the latter.

4. One prominent Nationalist, Abdelesam Temsamani, was arrested by the police at the beginning of May as allegedly responsible for the riots. The police case was clearly weak and such a volume of conflicting and, in some cases, clearly false evidence was produced that when the accused came before the British judge the case was returned to the Lower Court for further study. This was equivalent to a discharge. The incident was interesting, as the French, with the Belgian police, were willing to produce almost any evidence required against the accused, the Spanish any evidence in favour. At this stage of the year, in fact, the Spanish-Moorish honeymoon was still flourishing—the Spanish-French alliance still unborn.

5. In order to placate public opinion, to evade the unpleasant duty of apportioning blame itself, and partly, though not very optimistically, hoping for some real evidence, the Committee of Control in April set up a Commission of Military Attachés of the United Kingdom, United States, France, Spain and Italy to enquire into the responsibility of the riots and the action of the police. Their terms of reference excluded any enquiries or opinions of political import. The commission sat from 21st April to 14th May. A certain amount of heat was generated in discussions between the French and Spanish military attachés, each reserving their position on some of the other's evidence, and the United Kingdom and United States attachés reserving on both, as so much was palpably false. In the end, as had been feared at the beginning, the commission could only submit an anodyne and unhelpful report. Their work was, however, useful from the point of view of the public and of Moorish opinion, who were able to express themselves freely to an impartial body of alleged exports.

6. On 7th April, the Spanish Government presented to the ambassadors in Madrid of the Powers represented on the Committee of Control a note claiming that it was essential and legally only correct to return at once to the provisions of the 1923 and 1928 Conventions (thereby the 1945 Agreement would be abolished) with a view to the convocation of an international conference to reform the entire Tangier régime.

7. The replies from the Governments concerned all suggested that any negotiations there might be to revise the statute should be in the Committee of Control acting under article 8 of the 1945 Agreement. The Spaniards were persuaded, without much difficulty, to accept this procedure, and negotiations started in May. They were, in fact, conducted from then until signature of agreements in November, far more behind the scenes than in the full committee at which no one was prepared, except occasionally in the heat of the moment, to say some of the rather brutal things that had to be said. In fact, as stated in my report for the quarter ended 30th September, the negotiations were conducted in a nineteenth century atmosphere of courtesy and intrigue.

8. In the course of these months of tedious talk the original Spanish demands were whittled away as, no doubt, the Spanish had expected, and a considerable price was extracted from them, which they had not expected, in the shape of a reform of the judiciary. The political negotiations were conducted by the Consul-General of the Powers concerned; those on the judicial reforms by legal experts representing the various countries, who assembled in Tangier in August. These experts managed to submit their recommendations to the Committee of Control on 27th September, after labours distressingly intensive for the Spanish representative. The recommendations which were supposed to be based on purely judicial grounds had, perforce, sundry gaps which had to be referred to the Committee of Control for settlement on a political basis.

9. Considering the negotiations as a whole, Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom are the countries gaining most in influence from the new agreements, though not to the extent of endangering the dominating position which France holds in this zone. Italy regains the position held in 1928; the United Kingdom gains a trifle more but had far less leeway to make up; Spain does not fully regain her 1928 position, though making very substantial progress in that direction. Internally, the administration of the

zone and of justice should be noticeably improved. But the probable financial cost of the agreements which, though officially confidential, are generally known, has caused local complaints as was to be expected.

10. During the course of the negotiations there were some interesting changes in the surreptitious alliances of the various representatives. In April there was almost universal suspicion of Spanish motives, and a tendency for their representative to find himself in isolation. Very rapidly, however, it became clear that the anxiety of the French Consul-General and of Rabat (though there is some doubt as to the strength of similar feelings in Paris) to secure Spanish co-operation in dealing with the Nationalists, was to them much more important than any shadow of the *Entente cordiale* or their traditional support of Belgium. The Netherlands representative received instructions which agreed with his natural inclinations to work with the United Kingdom as far as possible. Two nuclei therefore emerged—a firm Franco-Spanish alliance and a more nebulous and less strong Anglo-Dutch. The second was joined for obvious reasons of self-interest by the Italian representative who proved to be a loyal and powerful supporter, and towards the end of the year was helped by the Belgian who was disgruntled by the French failure to help him. The Portuguese was of no real help to either party, tended towards the Franco-Spanish camp but could often be unsteadied by reference to the 600-year-old Anglo-Portuguese alliance and by inferences that Portugal would not benefit if Tangier were to become a Franco-Spanish condominium. The United States representative, for reasons largely connected with personal difficulties (though a career member of the service he was a Democrat under attack by Senator McCarthy's witch hunters) took no active part in the proceedings. The negotiations, therefore, ended with an appearance of France and Spain on one side, the United Kingdom, Netherlands, Italy and Belgium on the other. The extremely intelligent Spanish Consul-General, however, came better out of it than his French colleague, and it is by no means certain that, having obtained all he could from the French, he will not now be willing to work for the furtherance of Spanish interests against the French by obtaining support from others.

11. At the end of the year, therefore, the Spanish-Moroccan alliance so prominent in March had been completely eclipsed by the Franco-Spanish alliance which itself was beginning to show signs that it might have chinks in its armour.

Committee of Control

12. The President for the year was Señor del Castillo, Spanish Minister and Consul-General. He suffered, unfortunately, from long periods of ill-health. At one time it looked very much as if he would be unable to complete his term of office—indeed of any office. He managed, however, with an admirable obstinacy to keep going until leaving just before Christmas for medical treatment in Spain. Señor del Castillo conducted the affairs of the committee and the negotiations for reform of the statute with impartiality, intelligence and tact. He emerged from a difficult ordeal at the end of the year more respected and better liked than at the beginning. M. de Panafieu, French Minister and Consul-General, President for 1953, took over just before Christmas.

13. During the year, M. Baldoni, the Italian Minister, was transferred to be Ambassador at Ottawa and succeeded here by M. Nacchi di Cellere coming from Rome. M. Pinto Ferreira was succeeded as Portuguese Minister by M. Homem de Mello. Mr. John Carter Vincent, American Minister and Diplomatic Agent, was in personal difficulties throughout the year as a result of attacks on his loyalty in Washington. These culminated in his suspension from duty in December because a "Loyalty Committee" had found that there were reasonable doubts as to his loyalty.

Administration

14. The Portuguese Administrator, Señor Archer, who took over in the summer of 1951, had by the beginning of 1952 shown himself rather too energetically dictatorial for the taste of the Legislative Assembly and some members of the Committee of Control. His efforts to evade responsibility for the riots and police action on 30th March brought feelings against him to a high point. The French and Spanish Consuls-General tried their best to get rid of him. The Spanish Government, however, were unwilling to take strong action in Lisbon where the authorities were apparently prepared to support Señor Archer whatever the cost to the reputation of Portugal here, and the French Consul-General eventually gave up the pursuit in exchange for a reduction of Portuguese demands in the negotiations for

political reforms. Señor Archer attained his purpose of staying here despite the fact that there was an increased determination on the part of the Assembly and most members of the Committee of Control to clip his administratorial wings.

15. The Assistant Administrator for Finance, M. Troeder, also came in for a fair amount of criticism, partly because of his management of the finances (see under Finance), and partly because of his persistent and dubious efforts to make use of personal friendship in Brussels to retain his position here although the general political reforms would make this impossible.

16. The new French Assistant Administrator, M. Vermeil, came through the year well and is generally regarded as an efficient civil servant.

Finance

17. Although, according to the figures of credits voted, there should have been a deficit in the zone's finances, the year finished with a surplus of some 300 million francs to be carried forward to 1953. This was achieved because work on some projects was slowed down or not started, in some cases deliberately, in others because the Administration was physically or mentally unable to cope with all the ambitious schemes in the time allotted. The attitude of the Administration in choosing arbitrarily which works were to be continued and which postponed, and in switching money from one credit to another, caused a good deal of ill-feeling. It was partly owing to this that the budget proposals for 1953 submitted at the end of 1952 was heavily attacked. This would, however, probably have occurred in any case as the original proposals for the 1953 Extraordinary Budget involved the dissipation of the whole surplus from 1952 of all the whole reserve fund and of substantial borrowings.

18. The Ordinary Budget was eventually passed and approved in December at:—

	Francs
Revenue	1,642,410,000
Expenditure	1,606,259,504

Consideration of the Extraordinary Budget was postponed until the New Year.

Nationalists

19. At the beginning of February Taib Bennouna, Secretary-General of the Reform Party, left Tangier to return to the Spanish Zone after several years' exile. A few days later he was followed by his chief, Abdelkhalek Torres. His fellow Nationalist leader and rival, Mekki el Naciri was somewhat disgruntled that the Spanish had chosen Torres as the representative of the Nationalist Parties in the zone, and in January went to Paris to attend a meeting of the Algerian and Tunisian leaders at Chantilly.

20. Towards the end of February Hassan el Ouezzani and Ahmed Ben Souda of the Democratic Party of Independence arrived in Tangier from Paris. Ben Souda returned to his home in Fez, but for him to remain in Tangier, and accordingly set up his headquarters here and proceeded to recruit members for his party which hithertofore had not been officially represented in the International Zone.

21. The Nationalists appear to have been frightened by the events of 30th March, fearing that the leaders might be expelled from Tangier, and consequently lay low during the early part of the summer. The approach of the United Nations Assembly, however, always brings a recrudescence of Nationalist activity, and in September Mehdi Bennouna of the Reform Party, the first of the Moroccan delegates, left Tangier for the United States. He was followed by representatives of the other parties in the French Zone. In order to remain more closely in touch with those who had gone to America and possibly because he was finding little scope for activity in the Spanish Zone, Abdel khalek Torres returned to Tangier. Just before the year ended the French authorities cancelled the passports of the leading Nationalists who were at that time in the United States. These comprised the leaders from the French Zone and also Mekki el Naciri. It was thought that this might cause some trouble, but it has not so far done so. At the same time, the Spanish Consulate-General here, co-operating with the French, "invited" Abdelkhalek Torres to return to Tetuan, which he did on 31st December.

22. The Nationalists seized the opportunity of an American fleet visit in October to distribute propaganda and entertain both officers and men. This irritated the French authorities here, but is unlikely to have had much effect on American public opinion. The Americans were, in fact, careful to avoid any political speeches.

23. The Feast of the Throne on 18th–21st November was held as a holiday, and shops were closed, but no attempt was made at any public demonstration, and on 8th December, when it was decided to hold a day of mourning for Fehrat Hached, the

Nationalists warned their followers to keep quiet.

24. The Democratic Party of Independence established a branch in Tangier in the late autumn. As this party is more moderate in its demands than the Istiqlal, it met with some success amongst those Moors who realise that they are not yet fitted for complete independence.

25. *Member Shaab*, the organ of the Moroccan Unity Party, closed down in December through lack of funds.

Communism

26. The effect of the expulsion of some of the leading Communists in 1951 continued in 1952 when there was practically no overt activity on the part of the Spanish or Moroccan Communist Parties. The distribution of tracts and the writing of slogans on walls ceased entirely, and all but the most fervent Spanish Communists appear to have decided that their cause is not worth the risk of expulsion to Spain. After remaining in *résidence surveillée* for several months, Angel Martin Garci-Martin disappeared on 14th March and remained hidden in a British yacht until 6th April when he was found by the police, imprisoned and finally expelled to Spain on 22nd May.

27. The expulsion order against Marius Favier, one of the French Communists who had been expelled to French Morocco in 1951, was officially revoked in April 1952, and Favier is once again residing in Tangier. He is believed to be still in close contact with the few active Spanish Communists, but as a Frenchman he is more or less immune to interference by the police.

28. In October two Canadian Communist seamen, both known to be members of the Canadian Seamen's Union, and to have been involved in dock strikes in the United Kingdom in 1949, arrived in Tangier from the United Kingdom via France and Spain. As far as is known, neither of the above have engaged in Communist activities here.

29. At the beginning of November a few handsomely bound books printed in Arabic were found being distributed among the Moors by an ex-White Russian here. Investigations were proceeding at the end of the year.

Trade and Commerce

30. Two events during the year have affected the trade and commerce of Tangier. One, the rioting of 30th March, caused some loss of confidence in Tangier as a safe financial centre. It is probable, however, that there would in any case have been a certain decline in commercial activities due to general causes, and particularly in building which has for some time been of a speculative nature. The other was the judgment of The Hague Court on the Franco-American dispute, the application of which made it much more difficult to re-export imported goods from Tangier to the French Zone. Though in theory, goods produced in Tangier (of which there are a few) could be so exported freely, it remains to be seen what facilities the French authorities will in practice give to goods of Tangier origin.

31. Despite the indifferent outlook for trade indicated above and the fact that there was some falling off towards the end of the year, the import figures issued by the customs in Tangier are for the first nine months of 1952 higher than ever. 9,449,458,000 francs worth of goods have been imported as against 7,798,684,000 francs for the same period of 1951. The total figure for 1952, when known, will probably be larger than the record figure of 11,753,548,000 francs in 1951. The United States as in past years, leads the list of exporters to Tangier with a total for the first nine months of 1,949,499,000 francs, followed closely by Spain with 1,780,649,000 francs, France 1,072,788,000 francs, United Kingdom 869,301,000 francs, Switzerland 602,922,000 francs and Canada with 410,838,000 francs.

32. Exports have been higher in value than in previous years, for the first nine months 878,053,000 francs compared with 542,595,000 francs for the same period in 1951. When full figures are known it is expected that the milliard mark will have been reached for the whole year as against 674,859,000 francs for 1951. British Mediterranean Possessions head the list of countries to which Tangier has exported during the first nine months of 1952, with a value of 172,664,000 francs. They are followed by B.L.E.U. with 162,707,000 francs worth (chiefly vegetable fibre), by Italy with 82,088,000 francs, United States with 74,070,000, Switzerland with 58,219,000 (one item of gold alone was worth 52,982,000 francs), the Netherlands with 55,384,000, United Kingdom with 49,720,000, Spain with 48,549,000, British African Territories with 43,992,000 (of which 42,715,000 francs worth of cotton piece-goods manufactured in Tangier) and France, tenth on the list with 28,621,000 francs (of which one item of gold worth 14,421,000 francs).

Rates of Exchange

33. There were no sensational fluctuations in the principal rates of exchange in Tangier, viz., franc, peseta, sterling and dollar, during the year under review. The most noticeable feature was the improvement of the peseta which from 139 to the £ on 1st January closed on 31st December at 133·20. Its best during the year was 129 on 31st March. The usual tendency of the franc is to move in sympathy with the peseta, but it showed signs of weakness during 1952 although hardening slightly over the year as a whole—1,130 on 1st January, 1,138 on 31st December, 1952. Its worst quotation was on 29th February at 1,268, and its best on 19th October at 1,044. Dollars against sterling opened at $2·65 to the £ on 1st January and the £ steadily hardening closed on 31st December at $2·82.

Port

34. At the beginning of the year there seemed to be some possibility that the Spanish ferry service to Algeciras would gain an advantage over the British service to Gibraltar as a result of special quay facilities for loading cars. Building plans made in the course of the year, however, overcame this difficulty and when building is complete both enterprises should be on an equality as far as Tangier is concerned.

35. A trivial incident in the spring caused a certain amount of bad feeling. The master of a British ship refused to leave the wharf in a very high wind as, in his opinion, it was not safe to do so under his own power. The Spanish ferry which was consequently unable to berth, spent some uncomfortable hours at anchor at sea and the feelings of the relatives separated by a few yards of angry water were duly agitated. Immediately after this a Bill was introduced in the Assembly to empower the Captain of the Port to order a ship to leave the wharf and in case of disobedience to inflict savage fines. The Bill was referred back for redrafting, but at the end of the year was about to come to the Assembly again. It is probably of less importance now, as in the interval the port has acquired two useful tugs which should be able to deal with emergencies of this sort.

36. Plans for major development of the port, an extension of the breakwater to give shelter in the prevalent east wind, and other improvements made some progress towards the end of the year. It now seems probable that the work will be financed by a loan from the Banque du Maroc and local Tangier banks. The loan is to be paid off by the proceeds of a consumption tax voted by the Assembly in December. This tax, which was voted hurriedly before 1st January, was not given the care and thought which such a complicated subject deserves. It may well lead to difficulties.

Aviation

37. The airport continued to be run by Air France and to be used by that line, by Gibraltar Airways (on the Gibraltar–Tangier run only), Iberia, Aero-Portuguesa, Aigle Azur, TAIMN, Air Atlas and Air Maroc. Air France instituted a thrice-weekly service by Constellation aircraft on the Paris–Tangier–Casablanca run.

Naval Visits

38. Early in the year H.M.S. *Peacock*, followed by H.M.S. *Plucky*, H.M.S. *Rifleman* and H.M.S. *Sursay* visited Tangier. After the riots of 30th March, the visit of H.M.S. *Loch More* was arranged for the sobering effect of her presence in the harbour. There were no further visits other than those of small leave parties from Gibraltar.

39. At the end of September and beginning of October, the American Mediterranean Fleet change-over involved so many visits that there was a considerable overflow to Tangier of heavy cruisers, and aircraft carrier, destroyers, a submarine and auxiliary craft, and for a week or more some thousands of American sailors were much in evidence.

Contraband

40. Attention was drawn to the smuggling trade in which certain inhabitants of Tangier (from the local point of view, legitimately) engage when four British subjects were brought before the Mixed Courts on a charge of complicity in an act of piracy. Although the action that gave rise to this charge—the boarding of a Dutch-owned vessel on the high seas, and the transfer of its cargo for the profit of the boarders—undoubtedly took place, it was found that the courts were not competent to deal with such a charge, and the men were released. An American was later sentenced (pending appeal) to three years' imprisonment on a similar charge before the American Consular Court, and a number of persons were sent to Marseilles also to stand trial on piracy charges. Those persons who engage in the locally legitimate trade of smuggling have reason to hope that these piracy cases will reduce the risks inherent in their profession.

JM 1017/5 No. 17

NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE REFORM OF THE 1945 AGREEMENT

Mr. Eden to Mr. Muntz (Tangier)

(No. 11. Confidential) *Foreign Office, March 3, 1953.*

Sir,

I have read with interest your despatch No. 113 of the 10th December, 1952, and its annexed memorandum in which you set forth the gains and losses of each of the administering powers in Tangier as a result of the negotiations for the reform of the 1945 Anglo-French Agreement and for certain judicial reforms which culminated in the signature on the 10th November, 1952, of the instruments enclosed in your despatch under reference.

2. These instruments embody, as you observe, almost all the points mentioned in the instructions I sent you before the opening of the negotiations and I therefore consider the outcome of the negotiations satisfactory from the point of view of Her Majesty's Government. That it has been possible for the requirements of Her Majesty's Government to be met to so great a degree is without doubt due to your nice understanding of your colleagues and of their Governments' objectives and to your tactful and pertinacious negotiation outside, as well as inside, the Committee Chamber. I send you accordingly my congratulations and thanks, in view of the successful issue to these protracted negotiations.

3. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Madrid, Paris, Rome, The Hague, Brussels, Washington and Lisbon.

I am, &c.
(For the Secretary of State),
ROGER ALLEN.

JM 1013/7 No. 18

POLITICAL REPORT, JANUARY–MARCH, 1953

Mr. Consul-General Muntz to Mr. Eden. (Received April 20)

(No. 31. Confidential) *Tangier, April 3, 1953.*

General

There were no outstanding events during the quarter. The Nationalist parties were clearly feeling the absence of their leaders. There was some nervousness, mostly in French circles, in March lest there might be demonstrations first during the visit of the Indian Ambassador in Paris, and then on the anniversary of the 1952 riots. Interest in the Committee of Control tended to concentrate on the question of whether the Sultan would approve the agreements of last November or not, and on the treatment due to Soviet nationals in this zone. There was no sign of any answer to the first question, and the second remains as a difficult and delicate problem.

2. The death of Her Majesty Queen Mary evoked a demonstration on the part of all sections and nationalities of the community of admiration for the Royal Family.

Political Parties

3. The three leaders of the Democratic Party of Independence (Shura) and Mekki el Naciri, leader of the Moroccan Unity Party, arrived in Gibraltar on the 13th January on their return from the United Nations meeting in New York. Their passports having been declared invalid by the French, they were unable to come to Tangier and continued their voyage to Genoa, eventually arriving in Egypt. The local French press (undoubtedly with the knowledge of the authorities) stated that it was the Committee of Control which had prevented the return of these Nationalists. At the unofficial request of the United States, Italian and United Kingdom members of the Committee of Control a correction was published, though rather inconspicuously. It was reported that differences had arisen among the Nationalist leaders at Cairo. Mekki el Naciri at least wished very much to return to Tangier

and was known to have made approaches to the French.

4. During the quarter the Nationalists in the zone appeared to feel the loss of their leaders. The local leadership of the Istiqlal fell temporarily to a young journalist who was enthusiastic but inexperienced. Other lesser lights have been comparatively inactive; though Hassan el Ouezzani in February addressed a letter to all North African Nationalists advocating the foundation of a Committee of Liberation on a non-party basis for all North Africa. There was some doubt as to how this ambitious proposal would be received by extremists, as Ouezzani, a moderate, had been known to work at times with the French.

5. The French authorities locally were anxious lest the Nationalists should seize the occasion of the visit of his Excellency Sirdar Malik, Indian Ambassador at Paris, or, a few days later, the anniversary on the 30th March of the riots at Tangier in 1952, to stage demonstrations. The Indian Ambassador did meet a small party of Nationalists surreptitiously, but there was no demonstration. It was believed that the Nationalists had issued orders against any action on the 30th March. They were also warned by the Administrator, with the approval of the Committee of Control, that it was intended to enforce Article 10 of the Statute prohibiting agitation against the régime in the neighbouring zones. In the event there were no demonstrations on that day either.

6. On the 29th March all members of the Committee of Control, except the French, received a telegram from Si Ahmed Balafrej, Secretary-General of the Istiqlal (then in New York) alleging that the French authorities intended to provoke disorder here on the 30th March. The French, rather unwisely, as it endowed the affair with undue importance, insisted on publishing a communiqué in reply.

Administration and Committee of Control

7. Relations between the Administrator and the committee continued to improve slowly. There were, however, a few moments of difficulty over the Extraordinary Budget which was passed by the Legislative Assembly in January. The fact that it was not passed before the end of the year induced the French Consul-General to raise some constitutional complications. As it was obviously not in true equilibrium, other members of the Committee of Control held that it should, according to the Statute, be returned to the Assembly. To have done this as late as January would have raised even more constitutional difficulties. The committee, therefore, approved the Budget salving their conscience and possibly the financial situation of the zone by the peculiar expedient of instructing the Administrator not to sign any new contracts, even if credits had been voted, without the prior approval of the committee.

Police

8. In the middle of March the police made a report stating that until December 1952, there had been much agitation and propaganda; that after the riots in Casablanca those concerned thought it prudent to keep quiet; but that since February Nationalist agitation was again becoming prominent and dangerous. It was the general impression that this report was exaggerated, made probably so that if there had been trouble on the 30th March, the anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Fez and of the riots in Tangier in 1952, the police would have been able to put some share of the blame on the Committee of Control.

9. Early in the quarter the composition of the French and Spanish troops here and the regulations under which they are to operate, were changed to balance the French and Spanish elements better, and to create a nucleus for incorporation in the special police forecast under the reforms of the Statute. All the troops of both nationalities were brought under the command of a Spanish captain who was responsible, with the Belgian Chief of Police, direct to the Administrator (Portuguese). There was some doubt as to whether this change would be welcome to the Sultan, but the French Consul-General was of the opinion that this was not a serious risk.

Position of Soviet Subjects

10. There was considerable discussion during the quarter as to whether the Soviet Union can still claim to be a signatory of the Act of Algeciras and still claim the right to participate in the administration of the zone. Conflicting and complicated legal opinions were expressed by the expert and the inexpert. At the end of the quarter it looked as if this liquid state of affairs was likely to continue.

Communism

11. There seems to have been some slight increase in propaganda arriving from

Soviet-controlled countries (mostly from China), or at least an increase in the amount coming to the notice of the police and subsequently seized. In one case the recipient, a Hungarian, delivered the material spontaneously to the police. There were also offers from a London firm to supply similar propaganda material. Another parcel from Budapest addressed to the Nationalist leader Mohamed Naciri, who was not at the time in Morocco, was intercepted by the police. The contents, exhortations to the young to seek better working conditions, appeared fairly innocuous but were of obvious Communist origin coming from the organising Commission for the World Congress for the Defence of the Rights of Youth.

12. A small number of books in Arabic was received from Moscow by a Soviet subject here. A rash motion to expel this man from Tangier was carried by the Committee of Control against United Kingdom opposition, but fortunately it was possible later to persuade the committee to suspend execution of this sentence.

Visit of Indian Ambassador

13. The Indian Ambassador in Paris, his Excellency Sirdar Malik, was in Tangier from the 17th to the 19th March. His visit and possible effect on the Nationalists caused the French some anxiety but he was well entertained by all concerned and expressed himself as well satisfied with his visit.

Naval Visits

14. There were two visits by Her Majesty's ships during the quarter; the first of destroyers was not a great success as very bad weather made it extremely difficult to embark or disembark and the last three ships due cancelled their visit. The second visit by H.M.S. *Gambia* and H.M.S. *Duchess* with Vice-Admiral Davis on board the former was, on the contrary, very successful in every way.

United States Minister

15. Mr. Vincent, who was suspended at the end of 1951 as a committee in Washington had found that there were reasonable doubts as to his loyalty, was reinstated but retired from the service at the end of the quarter. This deplorable result of the activities of witch hunting senators in the United States did no harm to Mr. Vincent's reputation locally but considerably impaired the standing of the United States in local eyes.

Press

16. The Nationalist newspaper *Menbar Chaab* suspended publication at Christmas for financial reasons, but appeared again in mid-January. It was reported that the Istiqlal being no longer allowed to publish their own paper in the French Zone decided to make use of the *Menbar Chaab* issued in Tangier. This may well have been true as it was difficult to see how the number of subscribers in Tangier alone (the paper is prohibited in the French Zone) could possibly support it.

17. On the 13th March this paper published an appeal from the "Committee for the Liberation of the Islamic People" to the Arab League which was decidedly rude about the French in Morocco. Somewhat to the surprise and relief of the other members of the Committee of Control, the French Consul-General thought it better to take no action against the paper on this account.

18. There was nothing of great interest to report as far as the French and Spanish press were concerned.

JM 1013/11 No. 19

QUARTERLY REPORT, APRIL–JUNE 1953

Mr. Consul Scott to The Marquess of Salisbury. (*Received July 13*)

(No. 54. Confidential) *Tangier, July 2, 1953.*

General

The quarter was once again one of inactivity in all spheres. The Nationalists, with their leaders abroad, could do little but take a more vigorous line in the local Arabic newspaper and watch the "battle of the communiqués" (see below) with keen interest. For the Committee of Control

the quarter was frustrating because of the continued failure of the French to secure the Sultan's signature to the reforms upon which agreement was reached last November. The business world passed into a mood of quiet, and possibly ill-founded, pessimism.

2. Against this background the Coronation stood out the more clearly; the two receptions which brought some 1,500 people into this Consulate-General on the day itself and a colour film of the Coronation shown at a local cinema through our co-operation, joined with the participation of an R.A.F. Canberra in a local air rally, raised our prestige in a noticeable fashion.

Political Parties

3. There was little overt activity by members of the Istiqlal Party, whose Secretary-General left the United States and, according to the French, did so with a Pakistani passport. Since such a passport would entitle its bearer to land in Tangier as a member of a signatory of the Act of Algeciras, it was arranged that he should be informed that, as no Moroccan subject may change his allegiance without permission from the Sultan, his title to the Pakistani passport would not be recognised.

4. The Shura Party concentrated on an anti-illiteracy campaign and the Moroccan Unity Party enjoyed publishing in its newspaper *Menbar Chaab* glowing accounts of its leader's (Mekki Naciri) progress in the Middle East and beyond. Despite this, the party was held in contempt by the other Nationalists.

5. Towards the end of the quarter there were reports that several Nationalist leaders were converging on this part of the world and that the Spanish Government had agreed to allow them to live in Tetuan. Some had certainly been given visas for Spain. An overheard conversation between the French and Spanish Consuls-General made it plain that the Spanish High Commissioner in Tetuan was dissatisfied with French policy and with French collaboration; and that he was again thinking in terms of some sort of agreement with the Arab League. This reinforced the suspicion that the Franco-Spanish honeymoon of mid-1952, which brought about the Hispano-Moorish divorce, was being displaced by a re-marriage between the latter parties.

6. The local reaction to the petition of the Caids against the Sultan, and to the resultant battle of communiqués between his supporters and opponents, was decidedly pro-Sultan, anti-French and anti-El Glaoui. The general opinion was that the French authorities in Rabat had probably, despite their denials, themselves encouraged the authors of the petition, and had certainly done nothing to discourage them. It was even suggested that this action had been stimulated by General Juin, profiting from the absence of a Government in France to take his revenge on the Sultan. It was also thought that El Glaoui in his public statements had gone further than his French masters wished; and that, in fact, they had raised up an unpleasant Frankenstein for themselves.

7. The Sultan's representative, the Mendoub, at Tangier sought the advice of the French Consul-General to enable him to follow Moorish tradition in picking the winner. The French Consul-General, whose relations with Rabat had long been bad, is said to have declined to advise him, "unlike," said a member of the Frenchman's staff, "those so-and-so's at Rabat."

8. There were several protests from local Moroccans, when it was known that El Glaoui was to be in London for the Coronation. The explanations supplied, and rumours of the non-acceptance of his gifts, combined to remove the ephemeral feeling thus aroused.

Reform of the Statute and Committee of Control

9. Rumour was rife in May that the Sultan was about to sign at any moment. At the end of May a complication arose when the Netherlands Government decided that it was after all necessary for them to ratify their adherence to the Judicial Convention. Later in June the Spanish Consul-General, now promoted to Ambassador, returned to Tangier and gave vent in the Committee of Control to his impatience with all and sundry and in particular with the French Consul-General, who does not appear personally to be on bad terms with his Spanish colleague. The Spanish Consul-General did not really try to hide his conviction that the French had been deliberately dilatory. Shortly after this, Her Majesty's Government agreed, in view of the Netherlands wish to ratify and the consequent delay to the judicial reforms, that the French and Spanish representatives could be released from their promise to bring administrative and judicial reforms into force simultaneously provided both were signed simultaneously. Although similar concessions by other Powers whose representatives initialled the agreements

were still awaited, this put the ball squarely back into the French court.

10. Towards the end of June the French, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese Consuls-General all expressed an ardent wish to see the financial affairs of the zone in the hands of the future British Assistant Administrator for Finance by the 1st of August, whether the reforms were in force by them or not.

Administration and Assembly

11. The Portuguese Administrator was away for most of the quarter; the French Assistant Administrator, who had been acting for him, left twenty-four hours after the Belgian Assistant Administrator's return; and he, in turn, was away for a day in Paris. The zone was, therefore, without any Administrator for one day and, for several, was nominally run by the Belgian Assistant who is universally disliked and due to leave in August. This astonishing exhibition of lack of organisation at the top was enhanced at one moment by the discovery that both senior officials of the Department of Finance were away at the same time as the Assistant Administrator for Finance. There were some scathing comments in the Committee of Control.

12. At the same time, it must be admitted that relations between the Committee of Control and the Assembly on the one side, and the Administrator on the other, improved towards the end of the quarter as a result of a conscious effort by all the British and Portuguese representatives concerned. The Administrator showed signs of wishing, by being less dictatorial and impetuous, to make the machine work more smoothly for the remaining twelve months of his term here. The Assembly was, nevertheless, still fractious and quarrelsome and it was generally known that the breach between the French Consul-General and the French Vice-President of the Assembly had become so wide that the latter's mandate was unlikely to be renewed in October.

Naval Visits

13. There were no official visits during the quarter; but H.M.S. *Peacock,* followed later by H.M.S. *Scorpion* and H.M.S. *Ambush,* paid "operational" visits to Tangier.

United States Minister

14. At the end of the quarter it was announced that Mr. Joseph Charles Satterthwaite, lately Ambassador in Ceylon, was appointed to be United States Minister in Tangier in succession to Mr. Vincent.

Press

15. The *Menbar Chaab* referred to in paragraph 4 above, became appreciably bolder than in the past. The paper took a fairly strong Nationalist line on the one hand expressing loyalty to the Sultan and, at the beginning of the quarter, differentiating between the wicked *colons* and the Residency-General, whose intentions were more honest. In June, however, the paper went so far as to say that General Guillaume should be removed on the ground that whereas General Juin controlled the situation, General Guillaume merely let things happen. No move was made, despite this, to have the paper suppressed. There was nothing of striking interest in the French and Spanish press.

JM 1017/32 No. 20

TANGIER CONVENTION OF NOVEMBER 1952: DELAYS CONCERNING TWO DAHIRS RELATING TO ADMINISTRATIVE AND JUDICIAL REFORMS

Mr. Consul Scott to Lord Salisbury. (*Received July 13*)

(No. 55. Confidential) *Tangier,*
My Lord Marquess, *July 9, 1953.*

I have the honour to inform you, with reference to Mr. Muntz's despatch No. 113 of the 10th of December, 1952, that His Majesty the Sultan, on the 16th of June, signed the two *dahirs* relating to the administrative and judicial reforms agreed and signed by the members of the Committee of Control on the 10th of November last.

2. Although various, and often tortuous reasons have been suggested in order to account for this delay of over seven months, the only one which is beyond doubt well-founded is that the French authorities in Rabat, for their own internal political reasons, went out of their way to hold back the signature.

3. Even when His Majesty the Sultan had signed the *dahirs,* their prevarication continued, and no public announcement was made. Finally, on the 1st of July, the Spanish Consul-General warned his French colleague of the serious consequences that would follow failure publicly to announce, within forty-eight hours, that the two *dahirs* had been signed. The announcement was made in the press on the 3rd of July when it was also made known that the promulgation of the *dahir* relating to the administrative reforms was to take place in Rabat at any moment.

4. On the following day, however, the French Consul-General let it be known amongst his colleagues that the French Government had "disavowed" the Resident-General, that this mention of promulgation had been made without the Resident-General's having been instructed to make it, and that promulgation would take place only when it was possible for both *dahirs* to be promulgated simultaneously. Owing to the fact that the adherences of Belgium and of the United States to the Convention incorporating the judicial reforms had not yet taken place; and that the dates of implementation of the two *dahirs* were tied together by an agreement incorporated in the minutes of the Committee of Control, this new delay caused great despondency and drew some bitter remarks from the Spanish Consul-General, who had allowed the Spanish press here to indulge in jubilant congratulation of his efforts.

5. The storm clouds lifted when, at a meeting of the committee on the 8th of July, the Belgian Consul-General stated that his Government would adhere to the Convention at any moment; and the representative of the United States stated that his Government's adherence, with reservations, would take place that same afternoon. With this major difficulty removed, the committee agreed to take the 1st of August as the date for the coming into force of both *dahirs.*

6. This date was chosen on the assumption that the Belgian adherence would by then have been received; that the reservations of the Government of the United States (see annex to this despatch) would meet with no objection from the Quai d'Orsay; and that promulgation in Rabat and subsequent publication in the *Bulletin Officiel* in Tangier would thereafter be completed by the 1st of August. I will report by telegram the clearing of these various obstacles or any difficulties that may arise in the process.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch and its enclosure to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Madrid, Paris, Rome, The Hague, Brussels, Washington and Lisbon, to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Rabat and to His Excellency The Governor of Gibraltar.

I have, &c.
E. J. F. SCOTT.

Annex

Text of a Note Delivered at the Quai d'Orsay on July 8, and Earlier Handed to His Colleagues by the United States Representative on the Committee of Control

The Embassy of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and has the honour to refer to the note of January 27, 1953 enclosing certified true copy of the convention of November 10, 1952 relating to the Reform of the International Jurisdiction of Tangier and inviting the United States to adhere to this convention.

The Convention was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the governments of Spain, France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and Italy and amends the Statute of Tangier established by the convention of December 18, 1923, modified by the agreement of July 25, 1928, between the same parties.

The United States is not a party to the Statute of Tangier. The convention provides, nevertheless, that it shall be communicated for adherence, not only to the powers which have adhered to the Statute of Tangier, but also to the Government of the United States which is represented on the Committee of Control of Tangier as a result of the joint invitation from the French and British Governments to participate in the provisional international régime created by the agreement of August 31, 1945.

The Embassy of the United States, pursuant to instructions of the Government of the United States of America, has the honour

to inform the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the Government of the United States of America, desirous of supporting to the fullest extent possible the implementation of the programme of reforms prepared by the Committee of Control, adheres to the said Convention of November 10, 1952 subject to the following reservations:—

1. The adherence of the United States to the convention does not modify or abridge in any manner the extra-territorial jurisdiction of the United States in the Tangier Zone;
2. The adherence of the United States does not in any way imply adherence to the Statute of Tangier of December 18, 1923, as modified on July 25, 1928, which the Convention of November 10, 1952, amended.

JM 1013/13 No. 21

POLITICAL REPORT, JULY–SEPTEMBER 1953

Mr. Consul-General Muntz to Lord Salisbury. (Received October 5)

(No. 86. Confidential) *Tangier, October 1, 1953.*

General

During the first part of the quarter the Committee of Control was occupied with the bringing into force of the administrative and judicial reforms agreed in November 1952. In August this worry was displaced by those concerning the deposition of the Sultan, but at the end of the quarter the committee was once again occupied behind the scenes with a number of maddening minor points on the reforms raised largely at least by the falling out of the Spanish and French.

2. Despite some tense moments, Tangier remained calm, passing from one régime to another, on the local and on the national plane, without bloodshed or even broken windows. The fact that the change of Sultans brought so little trouble may have been partly because the reforms of the Tangier Administration had been at last brought into force, *de facto* if not *de jure*, on August, and our Spanish friends had no immediate advantage to gain by provoking trouble in the International Zone.

Deposition of the Sultan and Accession of his Successor

3. Although the vast majority of the 100,000 odd Moroccans in the Tangier Zone were on the side of the ex-Sultan, they did nothing to support him. They may have realised that Tangier is too remote to have much influence on events in the French Zone. In any case the Nationalist leaders could not be in Tangier owing to the cancellation of their passports. Their representatives in Tangier appealed to their followers, the more lively element of the population, not to take any action, and the Mendoub asked the population at large to remain calm and dignified. A further factor was the strength of the police: no one doubted that with the experience of the riots of March 30, 1952, behind them, and with a reorganised and efficient command, the police, both general and special, would deal capably with any trouble-makers, and the fact of the police being particularly strong at the crucial moment was deliberately made widely known by the Mendoub.

4. In the event, the change-over was effected with no more than two trivial demonstrations, both broken up at the mere sight of the police, and a dozen arrests, although there were a few more in the following weeks. The Mendoub received orders from the Grand Vizier to arrange prayers in the name of the new Sultan and the signing of an act of allegiance to him. Of the 130 notables asked to sign, only three refused (one of them Si Abderrahman Menebhi, son of a distinguished British subject): the remainder, some with tears of honest regret in their eyes, climbed rapidly on to the bandwaggon and signed.

5. Certain Arabic newspapers were suppressed or forbidden circulation in the zone and an organisation known as the *Eclaireurs Musselman* (allegedly a boy-scout-like movement) was suppressed by the Mendoub. At the end of the quarter there had been no noticeable reaction to these moves.

Reform of the Statute and Committee of Control

6. The beginning of July was stormy. The Spanish representative (promoted to personal rank of Ambassador last spring), knowing the Sultan to have signed the Dahirs incorporating the reforms at least a fortnight before, threatened the French with dire consequences if the news of the signature were not at once made public. The French yielded, and after, according to them, being obliged to make an unpleasant scene to regain the documents from the then Sultan who had been refusing to part with them, the news of signature appeared in the press on July 3. On the following day the French Consul-General in Tangier declared that the reference to the promulgation of one of the Dahirs was unfounded: there would be no promulgation until all adherences to the judicial Convention (incorporated in one of the Dahirs) had been received. This was intended to embarrass the Government of the United States which had not adhered, and was considering modification of its consular jurisdiction in Tangier. The Spaniards were impatient to complete what they chose for publicity purposes to regard as their "triumph," but none the less co-operated patiently in the removal of this difficulty. Finally the embassy of the United States in Paris presented a note to the Quai d'Orsay on July 8, which, with appropriate reservations, intimated the adherence of the United States to the judicial Convention. The date of August 1 was then fixed by the Committee of Control for putting the reforms into force.

7. Meanwhile the two Dahirs were published in Rabat on July 24 and were seen to have been signed on June 10. As the Dahir relating to administrative reforms was found to have omitted certain points included in the protocol, the Committee of Control promptly made a complementary ordinance with the intention of publishing all the documents incorporating all the reforms on July 31. The making of this ordinance was a curious move in view of the French thesis that reforms of the Statute can only be effected by Dahir. They justified the move on the ground that the Sultan need only be asked to sign reforms which concern him and in any case the points omitted from the Dahir and covered by the ordinance were not really reforms of the Statute. In fact, the procedure adopted in Rabat and the ensuing Ordinance is evidence of the work of some busy-body in Rabat, of the inability of Rabat and Tangier to stop pin-pricking each other, and of the ability of the French authorities ultimately to do much what they like despite earlier arguments about constitutional requirements.

8. It seemed, therefore, at the end of August that the reforms, both administrative and judicial, were in the clear at last. In September, however, the Spanish representative refused to approve the nomination of a Moroccan judge. He was clearly out to raise large questions such as the idea of a joint French-Spanish protectorate of Morocco, and the argument that Spain must be consulted in all nominations by the Mendoub—questions which are beyond the powers of the Committee of Control. The members of the committee, in a majority of probably seven to one, would have approved the nomination and found it legal. The French Consul-General, however, not wishing to press the matter to a vote, held up this affair remarking that if the Spaniards did not admit the legality of this nomination by the new Sultan, obviously they could not admit the legality of the Dahirs for the other new judges; as there were legally no judges, there could be no judicial Dahir to bring the convention into effect, and as the Portuguese Government and they would not have the administrative without the judicial reforms, there could be neither. Everything done, therefore, to bring the reforms into force was illegal. This Gilbert and Sullivan collapse of the house of cards because of petty Spanish-French squabbles did not improve the atmosphere. Whatever solution of this futility is ultimately found, the bulk of the administrative reforms are in force *de facto*, and some means must be found of paying the salaries *de jure* as well as *de facto*.

9. The two appointments henceforth to be held by British subjects were filled by the arrival before August 1 of the two persons chosen, namely, Mr. H. Crawshaw, Assistant Administrator for Finance, and Mr. N. Watson, *Chef de la Sûreté*. Foreigners appointed to other new posts arrived in Tangier during July and August.

10. Apart from the appointments to posts in the Administration of two British subjects mentioned above, and from a number of minor appointments, there have been two important innovations, namely, the appointment of an Assistant Administrator for Hygiene and Labour now held by a former Spanish diplomat, Señor Los Arcos, and of an Assistant Administrator for Legal Affairs, now held by the former Legal

Adviser of the Italian Consulate-General, Signor G. Marchegiano.

11. The new Minister for the United States, Mr. J. C. Satterthwaite, arrived on August 10, but left again in September to join the delegation of the United States to the United Nations Assembly.

Administration and Assembly

12. Colonel W. F. Ellis, C.M.G., O.B.E., the British Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly, died in July and the Assembly paid tribute to his many years of office at their next meeting. Mr. A. Abensur, O.B.E., was expected to be elected to fill the vacant British Vice-Presidency: Lord Rhidian Crichton-Stuart has been nominated to become the third British member of the Assembly. On completion of the 1952–53 session, the differences between the French Consul-General and his Vice-President having come to a head, the latter was not re-nominated. The French team was completed by Maître Cherif, an Algerian of the Muslim faith, who is prominent in the legal profession in Tangier—an interesting nomination. The Jewish community hoped to secure a change in their representation but handled the affair clumsily. As the Mendoub, who nominates both Moorish and Jewish members, was also anxious to avoid any Nationalist pressure for change in the Moorish team, he lost no time in re-nominating the previous Moorish and Jewish members. The Jewish community did not take this well and at the end of the quarter they were threatening to appeal to the Committee of Control against what they claim to be unconstitutional action by the Mendoub.

International Jurisdiction

13. Owing to the delays in the arrival of the new judges, it was not possible during the quarter for the courts to function on the reformed lines. Accordingly the Committee of Control passed an Ordinance (which was to be followed by a covering Dahir) postponing the date when the Dahir for the judicial reforms was to be effective. At the end of the quarter this Dahir had still not been issued for the reasons given in paragraph 8 above.

Police

14. The widespread knowledge that the police in Tangier were now much better prepared for trouble than at the time of the riots eighteen months ago no doubt played its part in the prevention of any but the most trivial demonstrations at the time of the deposition of the ex-Sultan. At that time, three weeks after the reforms had come into force, the Belgian former head of the Sûreté, M. Wilbers, had taken over his appointment as head of the General Police, and his French second-in-command had been here a month: the General Police were up to establishment. The Special Police, though slightly under strength in officers, was up to establishment in other ranks and furthermore possessed during the change-over more military equipment than it was to have henceforth. There seemed to be no doubt at the time about the loyalty of the Moroccan element in the police (about 50 per cent.) when dealing with crowds of their fellow-countrymen in a matter concerning their mutual Sovereign.

15. The Spanish Consul-General took advantage of the absence of his French, Italian and British colleagues to try and pull something like a fast one on two occasions to increase the power of the Special Police; on one occasion a compromise settled a budding dispute. The other argument about liaison officers between the two sections of police was not settled at the end of the quarter.

Press

16. The local press made no attempt to force the pace or reverse the direction of events in the past quarter. The single Moroccan newspaper (after new finance had been found) was firm but careful in its support of the Nationalist cause; but was suppressed by the Mendoub immediately after the deposition of the ex-sultan. The circulation in Tangier of Arabic newspapers printed in the Spanish Zone was also forbidden.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

JM 1012/5

LEADING PERSONALITIES AT TANGIER

Mr. Muntz to Mr. Eden. (*Received October 19*)

(No. 91. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *October 15, 1953.*

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my annual report on leading personalities at Tangier for the year 1953.

I have, &c.
T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure

Report on the Leading Personalities in the Tangier Zone of Morocco

EUROPEANS

1. Aldegunde, Reverend Father Francisco
Spaniard. Franciscan. Succeeded Father Betanzos as Bishop of Tangier and Spanish Morocco with title of Bishop of Fussala. Pleasant middle-aged man who seems broad-minded and friendly. The able and intelligent Padre Lopez continues as his secretary.

2. Apostoli, Giovanni
Italian judge, appointed in succession to Fernando Malmusi, when the latter was recalled on account of his Fascist tendencies in 1945. Apostoli is not a brilliant jurist nor an outstanding personality, but he appears to enjoy a fair reputation for honesty if not for morals. He is a bachelor.

3. Archer, José Luiz
Succeeded Jonkheer van Vredenburch as Administrator in August 1951.

Was Portuguese Consul-General with personal rank of minister in Tangier from 1947 to 1951 when he was appointed Administrator of the International Zone. Had previously served in Vigo, Rio de Janeiro, Lisbon and New York. He was president of the Committee of Control in 1949, a position which he filled successfully and impartially. He is energetic and pleased with himself, with a typical Portuguese suavity of manner and a considerable gift for compromise. In the year that has passed since he became Administrator, his dictatorial methods and his evasion of responsibility at the time of the March riots and certain suspect commercial activities have not improved his reputation. As an Administrator in fact he is not a great success. Mme. Archer is a pleasant, if rather dull, creature. They have two married children and a daughter of 18.

4. Arcos y Elio, José Luis los
Appointed Assistant Administrator for Health and Labour August 1953. Born 1913. Served in Spanish diplomatic service at Casablanca, Tetuan, Fez, Damascus. Married. Speaks English, French, Arabic. He is regarded by the Spaniards as something of an expert on Arab affairs. His wife is considerably more intelligent than the usual Spanish woman.

5. Buiskool, J. A. E.
Appointed Netherlands judge on International Court, Tangier, in 1953. Member of the Magistrature of the Netherlands Union. 1947 President of the Court in Tangier.

6. Caillat
Appointed Director of French Public Instruction in Tangier in 1953 in succession to M. Bastianelli. Previously in charge of the Lycée at Fez. Speaks excellent English.

7. Crambes, Dr.
President of the Anciens Combattants. He was French Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly, but following serious disagreements with the French Consul-General was not renominated in 1953.

8. Crawshaw, Harold Godfrey
Aged 51. Appointed Assistant Administrator for Finance August 1953. Member of the Scottish Institute of Chartered Accountants. 1928–39 worked as a chartered accountant. Chief Accountant, Allied Commission, Italy, with the rank of colonel. 1945–53 Director of Finance and then Secretary-General, Inter-Allied Reparation Agency, Brussels. Married. No children.

9. Crichton-Stuart, Lord Rhidian
Appointed to the Legislative Assembly as one of the three British members in 1953. Born 1917, fifth son of the fourth Marquis of Bute. Educated Ampleforth and Magdalen, Cambridge. Black Watch 1938, transferred Royal Artillery 1939 and to Reserve as captain 1948. Married 1939 daughter of Netherlands Minister, Tangier. Two sons, one daughter. Has property and business in Tangier.

10. De los Campos, Villarejo
Spaniard, born about 1900. Procureur of the Mixed Court, a post which he combines with similar functions in Tetuan. Rarely visits Tangier. Has British wife of Gibraltar origin and is believed to be not unfriendly.

11. Doolittle, Hooker Austin
United States Consul in Tangier for several years before the war. Was appointed consul-general, Tunis, in 1940 and subsequently served in Egypt and Pakistan and on a mission for the United Nations

in Indonesia. Retired from the Foreign Service in 1951 and returned to Tangier where he has settled down. Is one of the American members of the Legislative Assembly. Doolittle has a good knowledge of Morocco and a forceful personality which sometimes brings him into conflict with the United States Legation. He is pro-Nationalist, and inclined to be indiscreet in his friendships, but this is largely due to his avowed dislike of convention and protocol. Married to a White Russian.

12. Elias, Wilhelmus Hermanus Julius
Appointed Contrôleur Spécial de Dépenses, Tangier, 1953. Born 1901. Educated Amsterdam. 1927–42 held number of posts in financial administration of N.E.I. 1942–45 Japanese concentration camp. 1946–51 resumed activities in N.E.I. Retired 1952. Married. One child.

13. Girault, Cmt.
Appointed second-in-command of General Police in 1953. Born 1912; holds a diploma in law. Entered the gendarmerie in 1937. Served in the Garde Républicaine in Paris and took part in the liberation of Paris. After having assisted in the reorganisation of the Paris police he was posted to Algiers in 1951, as head of the Military Cabinet of the Governor-General of Algiers.

14. González Gordon, Pedro (Marqués de Torresoto)
Spaniard, born about 1886. Head of the sherry firm of González Byass. Very wealthy. Very pro-British, speaks English perfectly, related to the Gilbey family. Monarchist and anti-Falange. Has a large family.

15. Hubert, Paul
Appointed *Contrôleur* of the Mendoubia in 1950. Is also *Commissaire du Gouvernement* at the Mendoub's Tribunal. Is rarely met outside French circles, but is believed to co-operate closely with the local French in suppressing Nationalist activities.

16. Jardim, Achiano Vera
Appointed Portuguese judge on International Court, Tangier 1953. Born 1911. Educated at Counbra University. Joined Portuguese magistrature 1937. Became a judge 1946. Since 1949 has been assistant to the Attorney-General at Lisbon.

17. Jorro y Andreu, José
Spanish vice-president of the Legislative Assembly, and president of the Spanish Chamber of Commerce. Representative in Morocco of Juan March. Has large business interests in Tangier and owns a considerable amount of property.

18. Katzaros, John
Of Greek origin, has been naturalised as a British subject. The Katzaros family have been connected with the British Legation and subsequently with the consulate-general for the past sixty years, and were generally thought in Tangier to be British. They talk English at home. John Katzaros is secretary to the Legislative Assembly.

19. Lagergren, Gunnar
Appointed Swedish judge on International Court, Tangier, in 1953. Born 1912. Bachelor of Arts 1934 and of Law 1937, University of Stockholm. 1937–43 served on various courts and Court of Appeal, Stockholm. 1944 Swedish Legation, Berlin. 1948 associate judge, Court of Appeal, Stockholm. 1947, 49 and 50 studies of international law London, Rome, Paris. Married 1943.

20. Legrand, General V. J.
As colonel was Chief of Police. Promoted general on the retired list. Retired as a result of the reforms which came into force in 1953, and apparently intends to stay here.

21. Lemass, Edwin
British Judge in the Mixed Tribunal. Appointed 1st November, 1949.
Born 1890. Called to the Bar in Dublin 1912. Served in the army from 1914–18. From 1920–49 was employed in the Egyptian judicial service where he became a Judge of the Mixed Court in 1932. He is good-natured and easy going with plenty of common sense, but not a particularly incisive or forceful character.

22. Marchegiano, Giuseppe
Appointed Assistant Administrator for Judicial Affairs following the reforms of 1953. Was judicial adviser to the Italian Consulate-General. Is not a man of strong character and is entirely dominated by an energetic, ambitious wife whose political loyalties are of the most ephemeral nature but are none the less vehement whilst they last. Has two unmarried daughters with social ambitions.

23. Mèlenotte, Raoul
Chief engineer of the Public Works of the Zone. Pleasant to talk to, hard working but is said to take bribes.

24. Menegaux, Pierre
Appointed French judge on International Court, Tangier, 1953. Born 1904. 1945 Director of Personnel at Ministry of Justice. 1951 served on Court of Appeal and later as counsellor in the Court of Cassation, Paris.

25. Merry, Diaz Manuel
Spanish judge of the Mixed Court, born about 1886. An able lawyer, but given to deciding cases on grounds other than the rule of law. Acts as President of Appeal Court.

26. Mesa y de Llano, Colonel Ramón de
Appointed head of the Mixed Information Bureau to be set up under the reforms of August 1953. He was military attaché at the Spanish Consulate-General. Speaks French and a little English. Married. A number of children. His wife speaks only Spanish.

27. Parladé, Jaime
Spaniard, born about 1900. Educated at Stonyhurst. Originally an officer in the artillery and later in the International Gendarmerie of the International Zone. Remained in Tangier until just before end of civil war, in which he participated on the side of General Franco. Affects to be pro-British, but was friendly to Axis during the war and is not to be trusted.

28. Regil, Eugenio Mora
Appointed Spanish judge on International Court at Tangier 1953. Born 1901. Has held appointments as judge at Larache and Tetuan.

29. Rodière, Yves
French procureur of the Mixed Court, born in 1885. Member of French judicial service. Able and very hard-working. Has spent most of his career in Morocco. Reputed to be corruptible.

30. Sagardoy Allo, Matias, Lieutenant-Colonel
Appointed Commander of the Special Police created in 1953. Speaks no English and practically no French. Married.

31. Sedillo, Juan A. A.
Appointed American judge on International Court at Tangier 1953. Born in New Mexico 1902. Member of Bars of New Mexico and Supreme Court United States. Practised in United States and Denmark. Served with the United States forces in Europe in Judge Advocate-General Corps. Served as Associate Justice of Court of Appeals in Germany 1948–51 and as Legal Adviser to State Department 1951–53. Married. One child.

32. Selley, Alan
Appointed to the Legislative Assembly as one of the three British members in October 1949. Manager of the Bank of British West Africa. Intends to retire here.

33. Vallet, Jean
Born 23rd May, 1885. Appointed by Vichy as French judge at Tribunal Mixte. In 1940 was head of local "Action Française en Égypte" and was at that time described as one of the most dangerous Frenchmen in Egypt. Stated on all sides to be anti-British and to have been 100 per cent. collaborationist. Is nevertheless reported to be a reasonably good judge.

34. Vermeil, Edmond
Born Peone 5th October, 1900. Entered the "controlleur civil" services and was posted to Rabat from 1939–43. After two years in the army he returned to Rabat in 1945 as Director of Information at the Residency General. Was at one time pro-Vichy, but subsequently took part in the Italian campaign against the Germans. Is efficient and agreeable.

35. Wauters, Alfred
Born 1912. Belgian judge of the Mixed Court appointed to replace M. de Foy. Worked with Belgian Government in United Kingdom from 1943. Was Premier Substitut du Procureur du Roi up to date of his appointment to Tangier. Has lately married an English wife. Is pleasant and useful, but not a forceful character.

36. Wilbers, François
Appointed Director of General Police in 1953. Was one of the Belgians appointed to the International Police in 1945 with the rank of commissaire. He was in charge of the Sûreté from 1945–53 and enjoyed the reputation of being a conscientious and honest officer. He is pro-British but does not get on too well with his Spanish colleagues.

JEWS

1. Abensur, Aaron, O.B.E.
British subject, born about 1895. Owns, with his brother Moses (Maurice), the local banking-house of Moses Pariente, established in 1844, with which this consulate-general and the former British Legation have banked for at least sixty years. Father naturalised in 1896 by special Act of Parliament on account of the family's long services to the Crown. Of undoubted loyalty, he is always ready to help Her Majesty's Consulate-General and is a very sound and reliable banker. Will probably become British Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly in succession to the late Colonel Ellis. Awarded the O.B.E. in 1953.

2. Abensur, Maurice Moses
Younger brother of No. 1 and partner in the firm of Moses Pariente. Spent the war years with his family in the United States and as a result his wife and sons at any rate have become somewhat Americanised.

3. Abensur, Joe
Son of No. 2. Is a most efficient and likeable young man who has recently done much good work for the British charities funds. Bids fair to become a valuable member of the British community.

4. Alster, Jacob
Banker. Polish born, 30th December, 1901. Has a very bad reputation but is generally regarded as most able business man in Tangier. Has now become a considerable property owner. Does not entertain and appears to have no social life outside banking circles.

5. Bendrao Ruah, Isaac
Born Tangier, 26th December, 1900. Said to be richest man in Tangier, very friendly with the more influential section of the Spanish colony.

6. Hassan, Joseph
Portuguese subject, born about 1880. Very rich. Head of the Hassan family, who own the Salvador Hassan Bank. Bank's Tetuan agency acted as Franco's bankers in the civil war, other banks in the Spanish Zone being either foreign and non-interventionist or else controlled by Republican Madrid. Portuguese representative on the Legislative Assembly. His nephew, Salvador, was educated at Cambridge and acts as his uncle's substitute in the Legislative Assembly.

7. Pinto, Jack
Partner in the firm of Toledano Pinto. Wife is an American. His daughter is married to Maurice Abensur's son. Shrewd business man; is particularly popular with the Americans.

MOSLEMS

1. Abderrahman Anegay
Secretary-general of the Istiqlal Party in Tangier and takes charge of the party's activities during Allal el Fassi's absence. Intelligent, with an excellent command of French. One of the more reasonable of the Moroccan Nationalists. Has been in the United States for over a year.

2. Si Ahmed ben Hajj Majammad Tazi
The Sultan's representative or Mendoub. Born in 1901. Fought on Abdelkrim's side in the Riff campaign, 1926. Appointed Governor of Tangier prison, 1928. Later held post of Second Khalifa to his father the late Mendoub until both were expelled in 1941. While in Rabat was Directeur de Ravitaillement. Returned with Mendoub on 11th October, 1945. More or less ran the Mendoub until latter's death in February 1948, since when he has been acting in his place. Si Ahmed Tazi is intelligent, speaks good French and plays the French game assiduously. He has inherited a large fortune from his father and is almost certainly not above grinding the faces of the faithful. For two years after his father's death the Sultan refused to appoint him Mendoub in spite of pressure from the French and he continued to do the work of the post as First Khalifa. His appointment in February 1950 caused him great pleasure. His outlook is very conservative like that of most rich Moors, but he is shrewd and hard-working and probably as good a man as could be found for the post.

3. Si Mohammed ben Abderrahman Saidi
The Mendoub's Acting First Khalifa. Born about 1896. Native of Tangier. Son-in-law of Si Kaddor ben Ghabrit, the Sultan's "chef du protocole" in Paris. Has held minor posts at Mogador, Meknès and Rabat. Appointed to present position on 11th October, 1945. Modest, unassuming and friendly.

4. Si Mohammed Guennoun
Mendoub's Third Khalifa, born about 1908 in Fez but lived mostly in Tangier. Was Cadi's Khalifa before 1939, later notary. Has better reputation than Nos. 1 and 2. Is brother of No. 12, but does not share his political opinions.

5. Si Mohammed ben Driss ben Rahmoun
Kadi of Tangier. Born 1876 but does not look his age. Native of Fez. Formerly scribe at court of the Sultan Moulay Abdelaziz. Present at Paris and Madrid conferences on Tangier. Held post of Kadi at Mogador. Appointed to Tangier on re-establishment of International régime. Has had bad reputation, reported to insist on bribes before signing documents or giving judgment and was suspended from his functions in the summer of 1953. Professes to be a friend of England.

6. Moulay Ahmed el-Amrani
Mohtassib of Tangier, appointed 11th October, 1945. Born in 1871. Native of Fez. After learning trade of carpenter, became successively scribe to Mohtassib, Khalifa to Mohtassib and finally Mohtassib (head of the trade guilds).

7. Si Abdessalam Shebaa
Born in 1881. Member of good old Tangier family. Holds post of "Bou Mouarit" (Curateur des Successions vacantes) and is also member of the Legislative Assembly. At the request of Mendoub remained in Tangier during Spanish occupation to help with supply questions. Dependable and friendly.

8. Moulay Ahmed ben Haij Abdessalem el-Wazzani
Is present Cherif of Wazzan. He succeeded his elder brother Moulay Ali who died a year or two ago. He was born on the 6th September, 1876, of a British mother. He resides in Tangier. Is pro-French.

9. Sidi Ahmed ben Sidi Mohammed ben Siddiq el-Ghomari
Born in 1901. Chief of the Derkaoua Fraternity. Studied at Al-Azhar University, Cairo, and is anxious to return to Egypt. Clever and untrustworthy, ready to work for highest bidder. Organiser of demonstration involving procession of some 3,000 natives through streets in 1947. In February 1950 he was accused by the Spaniards of organising armed incursions into the Spanish Zone. Rather than hand him over to the Spanish authorities the International Administration instituted an enquiry as a result of which he was arrested and confessed to having arranged the smuggling of arms across the frontier, but claimed that he had acted at the request of the Spanish authorities. It seems likely that in fact he was the victim of *agents provocateurs*. He was condemned to three and a half years' imprisonment and sent to serve his sentence in the French Zone, where his sentence was served in agreeable fashion. Returned to Tangier in 1953. Spanish authorities who consider his presence a menace to security, wish to have him expelled. He will presumably return to the French Zone. Both Spanish and French are frightened of him with good reason, as he will work for or against either or both according to the price offered.

10. Si Abderrahman Menebhi
Son of the late Sir Mehdi-el-Menebhi, G.C.M.G., and brother-in-law of the Pasha of Marrakesh, El Glaoui. Enjoys a certain prestige as the son of his father, but not very reliable or of strong character. Though not an active Nationalist, he has allowed them the use of his house as a meeting place. As a result he was summoned before the Mixed Court in June 1951, with other Nationalists, and questioned on the score of alleged illegal political activities. He was one of the very few Tangier Moroccan notables who refused to sign the act of allegiance to the new Sultan in August 1953.

11. Sidi Mohammed al-Mekki Nasiri
Born about 1907, formerly resident in Tetuan. Founder and leader of Moroccan Unity Party, editor of party's newspapers (*Al-Wahdah al-Maghribia*, suppressed by Spanish authorities, Tetuan; *La Voix du Maroc*, in 1947 by Committee of Control, Tangier). Founder and director of Moulay al-Mahdi Institute, Tetuan, with branch in Tangier. Studied in Cairo 1927–31 and revisited Egypt 1937–38 (where he still has good contacts) to found Beit-al-Maghrib. Has the reputation of being more venal than the other Nationalist leaders. In 1950 he started a new paper, *Minbar al Sha'ab*, which was subsidised by the French authorities, and tried to start a new political party in the French Zone to work for Franco-Moroccan co-operation. In this he was unsuccessful, and at the time of the dispute between the Sultan and the Resident General, he burned his boats with the French and returned to Tangier, where he joined the other Nationalist leaders in forming the National Front. (See under No. 15.) He went to the United States in 1952 and his passport having been cancelled has been unable to return to Morocco.

12. Si Abdullah Guennoun
Born about 1909. Taught in Franco-Arab school, left in order to start a "free" (*i.e.*, not officially controlled) school 1937. New school built by public subscription and opened 1947. French and Spaniards have both sought his allegiance, but he is reputed to be non-political. In any case, the French are much less suspicious of his activities than they are of Nasiri's. He refused to sign the act of allegiance to the new Sultan in August 1953 and went to live at Tetuan.

13. Si Ahmed Erkaina
Born about 1907. Owns large bakery. Probably most intelligent and outspoken of six Moorish members of Legislative Assembly. Appointed Nadir del Habus on the death of his brother Mohamed.

14. Abd-el-Khalek Torres
Leader of the (Spanish Zone) Nationalist Reform Party. Joined other Nationalist leaders in forming the National Front in April 1951. He has been in and out of favour with the Spanish and French and according to the state of affairs, has been exiled in Tangier and found it inadvisable to remain in Tangier, Tetuan being safer. Following the change of Sultans in August 1953 he has been making rude remarks from Tetuan about the French and the new Sultan. It is said that he is not a good Moslem and this does him harm with his stricter co-religionists.

15. Si Allal el-Fassi
Leader of the (French Zone) Independence Party (*Hizb el Istiqlal*). An educated man who, like most of his fellow Nationalists, has so far shown more gift for speaking and writing than for political organisation, el Fassi, who had been living quietly in Tangier directing his paper, *Al Ala'am*, came into prominence with his party in 1951 in connexion with the crisis in the relations between the Sultan and the authorities of the French Protectorate, when, Nationalist reactions in the French Zone having been repressed, the initiative passed to the leaders in Tangier. Joined with the leaders of the Reform, Democratic Independence and Moroccan Unity parties to form a National Front in April 1951. He is now in Egypt and unable to return to Morocco.

16. Allal ben Abou
Spanish subject and at one time proposed for the post of Grand Vizier in Spanish Morocco. Is a very rich proprietor and is regarded as the chief of the pro-Spanish moors. Refused to give his allegiance to the new Sultan in August 1953.

17. Ahmed ben Suda
Representative in Tangier of the Democratic Independence Party, and signed the National Front pact in April 1951 on behalf of his leader, Mohammed Hassan el Wazzani. Went to Egypt with the latter in August 1951. Is a Nationalist of many years standing. His passport being cancelled, he cannot return to Tangier. Is now in the Spanish Zone.

18. Abdelkader ben Omar Barrada
One of the richest merchants in Tangier. Native of Fez. Was blacklisted during the war, but always kept up friendly relations with the French Consulate by whom he appeared to be treated with considerable respect, in spite of the fact that he had acquired Spanish nationality. He has now fallen into disfavour with the French having become a nationalist and the representative in Tangier of the Shara party.

JM 1902/1

No. 23

TANGIER: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

Mr. Consul-General Muntz to Mr. Eden. (*Received October 19*)

(No. 90. Confidential) *Tangier, October, 1953.*

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my annual report on the heads of missions at Tangier for the year 1953.

I have, &c.

T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure

Heads of Foreign Missions at Tangier, 1953

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports)

Belgium

M. Carlos de Radiguès de Chennevière (arrived February 1945), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

*M. de Radiguès was counsellor in Paris at the outbreak of war and subsequently passed some time in a concentration camp. He is industrious and painstaking and enjoys preparing memoranda for the Committee of Control. As he is also able, if a little too subtle at times, he is a very useful colleague. He has a pleasant if slightly malicious sense of humour. Both he and his wife, by whom he has five children, are socially minded and most friendly and pleasant colleagues. They both speak good English. M. de Radiguès has other grown-up children in Belgium by his first wife. (Written in 1947.)

He is due to retire in 1954 and is believed to be considering applying for the job of administrator here.

France

M. François de Panafieu (arrived March 1950), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

M. de Panafieu is fifty years old. *He joined the French Diplomatic Service in 1929 and served for a time in the secretariat of the League of Nations. When France collapsed in 1940 he was in the French Embassy in Washington. After hesitating for a considerable time, he eventually joined the Free French Forces, serving on the staff in North Africa. Since the war he has been counsellor at Copenhagen, consul-general at Hamburg and Directeur des Accords Techniques at the Quai d'Orsay. He is clever, hard-working and quick but unreliable. His manners are impressive, almost old world at times, but a certain conceit about his abilities, his position and possibly appearance, makes him better able to appreciate his own rather than others' sense of humour. It would be idle to pretend that he is universally popular here, but he is pleasant to meet as a colleague, though as far as work is concerned he needs watching closely. He is a man of the world with varied interests. He and his wife, who is quiet, intelligent and pleasant—though she has caused irritation to those she considers her inferiors—have considerable private means and entertain well. Both speak English. (Written in 1952.) They have seven children of whom one was smitten with infantile paralysis in 1952 but is recovering. He is thought to be unlikely to stay here for long after the end of his year 1953 as president of the Committee of Control.

Italy

M. le Comte Francesco Macchi di Cellere (arrived February 1952), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

M. Macchi di Cellere, aged about fifty, graduated in law in 1926 and joined the Italian Diplomatic Service in 1928. *He served at The Hague on the Disarmament Commission at Geneva, as secretary at Addis Ababa, and in the consulates at Menton and Colombo. During the war he was in Rome where, according to his own statements, he was not very prominent as he was never an enthusiastic Fascist. In 1946 he went as counsellor to Athens and after a short time in Belgrade returned to Rome in 1949 where he was in the " Bureau de Co-ordination " of the secretariat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

He is energetic, quick in the uptake, and appears very anxious to co-operate with the United Kingdom, which is useful as he seems to have a flair for seeing the real motives behind apparently innocent manœuvres. His somewhat Neapolitan negotiating qualities have made him rather unpopular during the past year with his French, Spanish and Belgian colleagues. Despite the rather mincing manner of a confirmed bachelor, he has a real sense of humour. He can speak English, but not fluently so, and prefers not to do so. (Written in 1952.)

Netherlands

M. Allard Merens (arrived February 1950), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

*M. Merens has spent much of his service in South Africa and India, where he was Netherlands representative at Delhi during the war. From 1945–49 he was minister at Prague. It is said that towards the end of his appointment he had some difficulties with the Czechoslovak authorities. He may be a little rigid, like so many of his countrymen, in dealing with those of whom he disapproves, and cannot be classified as brilliant, but he is most friendly and agreeable and, again like many of his countrymen, thoroughly loyal and co-operative. A daughter is married to a British subject here. Both he and his wife speak English very well and have said that they would like in due course to retire in England. (Written in 1952.)

Portugal

M. Manuel de Cunha Pimentel Homem de Mello (arrived August 1952), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

A man of about fifty-one, M. Homem de Mello was last employed in the economic side of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lisbon. He has served in

Hamburg and Berlin. Sent down partly to support the Portuguese Administrator, M. Archer, of whom he is a distant relative, he was at first rather noisy and bellicose. He is still noisy, but has found it difficult to support all the administrator's actions. Though not brilliant, he has proved himself reasonably impartial and courageous enough to stand up for his principles from time to time.

He is married and has children. He speaks no English.

Spain

Sr. Don Cristóbal del Castillo (arrived September 1945), consul-general promoted to personal rank of ambassador in 1953.

*Sr. del Castillo joined the Spanish Diplomatic Service in 1917. He was minister-counsellor in Paris before the war and minister in Athens before serving here as consul-general from 1942–44 when he was appointed Assistant Under-Secretary in Madrid. After the Paris Conference in 1945 he was reappointed consul-general in Tangier. During the war he is said to have given the impression of being anti-British, but on his return to Tangier in 1945 he frequently spoke of the need for co-operation between Spain and the United Kingdom and the United States. Recently, though aggressive for Spanish claims, he has been very friendly. There is no doubt that he feels Spain has a right to a predominant voice in the affairs of the International Zone, and that put in its worst light she has expiated her sins of illegal occupation by an over-long sentence. His ambition is to see Spain restored as nearly as possible to her pre-war position in this zone before he retires. He has, I believe, great influence in Madrid as far as Morocco is concerned. He is said to have been offered the Spanish Embassy in Paris and even possibly the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Madrid. He would be unlikely to accept either as he detests social affairs and never goes out at all. He has suffered from bad health for several years and in 1952 was obliged to attend to business in his home and sometimes in bed. He was absent for medical treatment for four months in the winter of 1952–53. His long experience of Morocco (thirty years on and off), his rather jesuitical interpretation of a country gentleman's codes, and his undoubtedly very acute intelligence, make him a colleague to be treated with care, however pleasant and friendly he may be. His wife, who is a delightful little party from Bilbao, speaks English. They have one son who has recently been studying for a year or more in England. (Written in 1952.)

United States

Mr. Joseph Charles Satterthwaite (arrived August 1953), American Diplomatic Agent with rank of minister and consul-general.

Born in 1900, served with the United States army in the first world war. M.A. University of Michigan, 1924; entered United States Foreign Service and served at Stuttgart, Washington, Guadalajara, Mexico, Buenos Aires, Bagdad, Ankara, Damascus. From 1945–49 was in Washington where he became Director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs. In 1949 he was appointed ambassador to Ceylon.

He is married and has one daughter aged six.

CHAPTER IV.—ALGERIA

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

JF 1013/1 No. 24

ALGERIA: POLITICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS FOR THE QUARTER ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1952

Mr. Consul-General Wakefield-Harrey to Mr. Eden. (Received 2nd February)

(No. 1. Confidential) *Algiers, 9th January, 1953*

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith a survey of political conditions in Algeria during the last quarter of 1952.

2. Apart from the riots at the end of October, which were evidently fomented and of small scope, the main feature of interest during the period has been the relative impotence of the much-heralded Algerian Independence Front which was formed last summer, and which appears incapable of any real joint effective action owing to the reluctance of the U.D.M.A., and the tendency of the M.T.L.D. to come more and more under Communist influence.

3. Another outstanding event has been the mishandling by the authorities of the esparto grass crisis. Unquestionably, the decision to persist so long in holding off the market despite a great accumulation of stocks and the distress caused by the postponement of this year's harvest, was a gross miscalculation, and most probably due to pressure on the authorities from interested quarters. It has resulted in very severe distress in the Southern Territories, culminating in one or two disorderly incidents. The loss to the economy of Algeria owing to this ill-judged refusal to accept the trend of the market has been serious, and the necessary doles and food distributions have been an unwelcome and unexpected charge on the budget. Such mistakes as this are perhaps inevitable in an administration which must of necessity be somewhat authoritarian, and where a few families of great wealth have virtual control of the press, and exercise considerable pressure on the Government-General. Influences of this kind very possibly lie behind the protracted refusal to meet the demands of workers in several iron-ore mines, who have now been on strike since the end of October.

4. The Governor-General, M. Roger Léonard, was throughout this period very active in touring the whole of the territories under his control. These tours appear to have been arranged with a due measure of ceremony and to have been most effective, particularly in some of the outlying regions. He told me personally that he has been unreservedly impressed by the welcome he receives from all classes of the population, and I have no doubt that this is so. The country, in fact, is in general contented and prosperous, and one cannot tour in any part of the interior without having these facts brought home to one. As a corollary, the standard of public order and security is remarkably high. In November M. Léonard visited Paris for a few days, where he pleaded for more generous financial support for investments and education in Algeria. October saw him at Rabat for the annual conference of French representatives in North Africa; when he arrived back at Algiers he spoke of the " perfect unity of view between the three representatives of France in North Africa."

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tunis, Rabat, Tetuan and Tangier, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Malta.

I have, &c.

C. O. WAKEFIELD-HARREY.

Enclosure

Political Review of Events in Algeria for the Quarter ended 31st December, 1952

1. Political Parties

The Algerian Deputies to the National Assembly gave their support consistently to M. Pinay during the period under review. As a price for his, however, they have been very active in pressing for further subsidies and for the equalisation of rates of social benefits in Algeria to those in France. With the support of the Governor-General they have been successful in securing for the first

time a direct subsidy from the metropolitan budget for education in Algeria, as reported in another paragraph.

Since the riots at the end of October, which resulted in the death of one person and several wounded, the "Separatist" parties have been relatively inactive and the country has been almost completely quiet. There have been one or two small scuffles between the police and persons found in possession of prohibited issues of newspapers. The October riots, which were patently stages with a view to providing material for the Arab cause then before the General Assembly of U.N.O., were one of the fruits of the Algerian Front. The telegram, however, which was sent to the Secretary-General of U.N.O. after the riots, emanated from the M.T.L.D. only. It was natural that the Communist Party should have abstained from the telegram, but the absence of any participation of the U.D.M.A. indicates that there is very little co-ordination in the so-called front. Only one joint manifestation of any consequence took place during the period, and that was at Algiers, where the parties met in a theatre and protested against the death of Ferhat Ached. The manifesto after this meeting was, however, whether by accident or design, not signed by the U.D.M.A. Party. French Communists were prominent in this manifestation and the President was a M. Tubert, described as an ex-Deputy to the National Assembly and one-time Mayor of Algiers, and who was a French delegate to the recent Peace Congress at Vienna. Meetings were held in various parts of the country by the Communist Party in support of the delegates from Algeria going to Vienna.

M. Ferhat Abbas abstained from taking his seat in the Algerian Assembly in the autumn session, possibly as a protest against his sentence (conditional) to three months' imprisonment for alleged violence to an official during a by-election. Members of his party, however, played an active part and have on occasion been complimented by the President for their work on committee. M. Abbas's relations with the Prefecture of Constantine, despite his sentence, are reasonably good, and he has recently taken no part in any public demonstrations.

The M.T.L.D. in the Algerian Assembly have followed a line of persistent and often venomous opposition, but much of their speech-making in the Assembly has been ineffectual and sometimes foolish. They have not shown themselves able to develop a well-informed and effective opposition and on occasions when they might have had good material for sharp attacks on the Government they have produced only *pro forma* and empty declamations carrying little weight. They do not give the impression that they have behind them any real hard core of support amongst the populace.

During the period there have been one or two incidents in the oases of the Southern Territories, which appear to have taken the authorities by surprise—particularly as these oases have been an object of especial care and pride to the Administration and have benefited very considerably from public works, from the opening of new wells, and the fostering of the tourist trade.

Incidents in the south-east were ascribed to the infitration of bands from Tunisia. In the hinterland of the Oran Prefecture they were doubtless easy to instigate owing to widespread distress amongst the nomads owing to the Government's mishandling of esparto grass crisis. The disturbances were, however, of no importance.

According to an unsigned circular received by this Consulate-General and purporting to emanate from a Committee of Support for Victims of Repression, there are thirty Algerian political prisoners who have been removed to France and who are now in fifteen different prisons there. This is in addition to those who are undergoing prison terms in Algeria. These prisoners are all described as members of the M.T.L.D. The committee in question circulate this letter in protest against the alleged harsh treatment which prisoners are stated to be receiving in France.

The Oulamas have confined themselves for the most part to agitation in connexion with the project for the separation of Church and State in Algeria, which they have consistently requested should be brought before the Assembly ever since its first session. Some sharp speeches were made at the opening of the Assembly at the autumn session, when it was found that this project had been excluded from the Assembly's agenda. The President explained that the *Commission du Culte*, an Assembly committee which is studying the matter, had not produced a report. Subsequently, a U.D.M.A. member of the committee resigned from the committee in protest. The Oulamas maintain that the Islamic religion and its institutions should be totally separate from the State, and they claim that the present administration of Moslem religious properties amounts to their virtual seizure by the State, and has resulted in the appointment of imams who are mere puppets of the authorities and do not enjoy the respect of the faithful. The legal situation is very complex, but it appears that the authorities do not intend to attempt any serious change in the present state of affairs, and in view of the uncompromising Nationalist activities of the Oulamas, it is hardly likely that they ever will.

2. Algerian Assembly

The third ordinary session of the Assembly occupied itself largely with 1952–53 budget questions. Subsidiary credits from Paris (of 1,500 million francs for investments and 1,300 million for education, making a grand total for the year of 28,500 million francs) enabled the budget to be balanced almost exactly (receipts, 112,492,391,000 francs; expenditure, 112,488,140,000 francs).

There was considerable criticism of the administrative and financial organisation of the Algerian State Railways, on which a deficit of over 4 milliard had been reported. The Assembly's final decision was to request a revision of the debt charges of the railways, with increased metropolitan participation in meeting them.

Specific decisions taken by the Assembly included some tax adjustments to encourage exports; perhaps the most important of these was the reduction in the export tax on esparto grass from 15 per cent. to 4 per cent. (as reported in my telegram No. 2 GROWN Saving of 24th December, 1952). The discussion about esparto grass was conducted with great vigour, and the spokesman for the Government-General was very much on the defensive.

Commenting on the Governor-General's assurances that the Southern Territories would not be alienated, the President said that the Assembly would demand to be closely consulted as to the advantages Algeria could legitimately claim from any concessions granted; he wanted further assurances regarding the issue of *permits des récherches exclusifs;* he asked where oil would be exported to and refined, and what percentage would be left at the free disposal of Algeria.

On the initiative of the Governor-General, a proposal was tabled for the modification of the Law of 20th September, 1947, which embodies the Organic Statute of Algeria, in respect of criminal and civil procedures and the determination of crimes and punishments. The intention of the proposal seems to be to eliminate the *automatic* application to Algeria of certain metropolitan laws, and to give more power to the Algerian Assembly.

In view of the overwhelming importance of agriculture to the well-being of Algeria, it is worth recording that the Assembly unanimously recommended that the utmost possible sum should be allocated for long- and short-term agricultural credits, and the Governor-General replied that the Administration did not intend to fix a ceiling for such credits.

It was reported to the Assembly that, as a result of pressure by the Governor-General and European Deputies to the National Assembly, the Ministry of Education had undertaken, for the first time, to make a direct contribution, totalling several milliard, to the Algerian budget in respect of public education.

3. Local Affairs

A prolonged campaign was conducted towards the end of the year in the press and at public meetings against alleged mismanagement in the administration of the urban planning of Algiers that has resulted in the beauty of the city being marred by the construction of skyscrapers reaching as high as twenty storeys, and in an almost inextricable confusion in the traffic conditions in the city. Members of the committee concerned with applications for derogations from regulations governing the height of buildings are accused of arbitrary action, with the implication of corruption. At the same time there have been protests against maladministration in the Public Works Department of the Government-General, where there has certainly been some measure of waste and inefficiency. In this connexion, allegations have been made that this state of affairs is due to the influence of the C.G.T. in the technical branches of the Administration. The importance of these abuses can easily be exaggerated in an administration where capital investments are being carried on at a high rate and where supervision is probably not so strict as in the home country and waste and corruption can easily arise. But there has doubtless been no small measure of public uneasiness.

4. Impact of Events in Neighbouring Territories

The disturbing events in Morocco and Tunisia were fully reported, as were the related United Nations discussions. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's interventions at New York received careful and appreciative attention,

and gave rise, especially in private discussions in European French circles, to not unfamiliar comparisons between the attitudes of the United Kingdom and the United States Governments.

The course of events in Tunisia and Morocco has had a negligible effect on public order in Algeria.

The settlement of the Allied Mediterranean Command problem was received with satisfaction; few, if any, inhabitants of Algeria would have welcomed any other solution.

5. Press

Arising from its reporting of the death of the Governor of Cambodia, the Communist daily, *Alger Républicain*, faced a demand, in the Algiers Correctional Court, for three months' suspension. The demand was *not* successful.

Copies of two issues of the Nationalist periodical, *L'Algérie Libre*, were seized during November; and four young Arab distributors in Oran were arrested, fined and imprisoned.

Interruptions as a result of administrative action in the activities of the local press have been less frequent during the period under review than in recent months.

6. Labour

Relations between labour and employers have been relatively free from trouble during the period, with one important exception, which is that of a group of iron-ore mines in the Algerian Prefecture, which are French-owned, and where workers have been on strike since the end of October. As a result of this strike, stocks for export in Algiers docks have been exhausted and three iron-ore ships due to load for Great Britain in December were cancelled. The men are asking for better wages and conditions and collective agreement. The strike is C.G.T.-inspired, but there does not appear to have been any disorder.

7. Miscellaneous

M. Charles Brune, Minister of the Interior, accompanied by *M. De Chevigné*, Secretary of State for the Army, toured extensively in Algeria, including some desert centres. They were, of course, escorted by the Governor-General. Discussing the potential resources of the Sahara, *M. Brune* pleased local opinion of all shades by declaring that "Algeria must be the principal benficiary of the riches of the Sahara." *M. De Chevigné* ventured to forecast that "the buried mineral resources could upset economy and strategy on a world-wide scale." (See also under *Algerian Assembly*.)

The tenth anniversary of the Allied landings in North Africa (8th November) was celebrated by several ceremonies, some of which were in the presence of *M. Claudius Petit*, Minister of Reconstruction and Town Planning, and of *General Grossin*, who represented the President of the Republic. Speeches at a banquet given to the Minister by the Resistance set a tone of fierce anti-Petainism and the chairman had some difficulty in keeping the more unruly speakers in order. Her Majesty's Consul-General, who spoke on this occasion, stressed Great Britain's vital share in the operations of 1942 and the evidence they gave of her faith in the resurgence of France. The reception given to this speech made it plain that his audience of Resistants had lost nothing of their faith in Great Britain.

Marshal Juin, as Inspector-General of the French Armed Forces, made a lengthy visit to Algiers in October. He travelled widely and was received enthusiastically, especially at Bône, his birthplace. He watched the manœuvres and the subsequent review of forces of the 10th Army Region. He made several public utterances on controversial issues (see despatch No. 67 (PF/2) of 21st October, 1952).

General Morlière relinquished his command of the 21st (Algerian) Division and proceeded to Paris to assume command of the 1st Military Region.

The Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean, with seven of Her Majesty's ships, paid a most successful informal visit to Algiers at the beginning of October. Admiral Mountbatten made a profound impression on all who came into contact with him. (See despatch No. 66 (PF/2B/1) of 21st October, 1952.)

Several units of the United States navy visited Algiers at different times.

Her Majesty's new consul-general was very warmly welcomed. His arrival received more attention in the local press than is usual on such occasions.

By 31st December, 1952, 429 British merchant ships had entered Algiers port during the year. The total net registered tonnage, 1,661,221, was the greatest since 1929.

JF 1013/7 No. 25

POLITICAL REVIEW, JANUARY–MARCH 1953

Mr. Consul-General Wakefield-Harrey. (*Received May 22*)

(No. 15. Confidential) *Algiers, April 14, 1953.*

Sir,

I have the honour to submit herewith a political review of events in Algeria for the quarter ended 31st March, 1953.

2. The proceedings of the Algerian Assembly and the repercussions of the visit to Algeria during the quarter of M. André Marie, Minister of Education, are treated at some length in this survey. Although not of immediate political significance, these subjects are of obvious importance in relation to future developments in Algeria and I esteemed it might not be out of place to report on them in some detail.

3. I also enclose a copy of a despatch from Mr. Bowker, British Vice-Consul at Bône, in which he gives a survey of the situation there as it appeared to him on his return from a prolonged leave of absence.

4. Copies of this despatch are being sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tunis, Rabat, Tangier and Tetuan, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence) at Malta.

I have, &c.

C. O. WAKEFIELD-HARREY.

Enclosure No. 1 in No. 25

1. Political Parties

Since the failure of the attempt to provoke disturbances during the U.N.O. debate on Tunisia in October last year, the "separatist" parties have been on the defensive. The authorities have been aware of this and have continued active counter-measures. In January five members of the M.T.L.D. party at Constantine—including two municipal councillors of Philippeville—were sentenced to a year's imprisonment on a charge of having endangered the safety of the State. In the same month, the municipal council of Sidi-bel-Abbès (Communist) was dissolved by order of the Ministry of the Interior, owing to irregularities in the administration. The town is now governed by a special commission consisting of three Moslems and three Europeans.

On 15th January, M. Larbi Bouhali, secretary-general of the Algerian Communist Party, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 800,000 francs. Although a meeting was called by the Oulamas, Communist and M.T.L.D. Parties to protest against the trial, the sentence caused no reaction. Early in February M. Larbi Bouhali was again sentenced, this time to ten months' imprisonment and a fine of 500,000 francs for articles published in Communist papers. At the same time, other members of the party were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from four to six months and fines between 200,000 and 300,000 francs.

During January there were also police searches at the headquarters of the M.T.L.D. in Algiers, Constantine, Bône and other places. There were several arrests, including that of M. Lahouel, secretary-general of the M.T.L.D., but the persons arrested were released shortly afterwards. In February police searches were again made at the headquarters of the M.T.L.D. at Algiers and Oran, while the party organ, *L'Algérie Libre*, was suspended for three months.

These police actions, which have been limited in scope, have passed almost unnoticed, and the country remains absolutely quiet, as though suspended in a truce, and disorders or manifestations of any kind have been rare.

For the forthcoming municipal elections at the end of April, the "separatist" parties have formed a *bloc* which will field candidates under the title of the *Union Anti-Colonialiste*.

2. Governor-General

The Governor-General has been very active during the quarter; not only has he been several times to Paris, but he has visited almost every corner of his territory. The report in a Paris journal that he was shortly to be appointed Vice-President of the *Conseil d'Etat* has been contradicted privately to me by a member of his staff. This appointment is, however, I feel, still M. Léonard's ambition. His fine mind, essentially that of a jurist, would eminently suit him for it. His slight deafness sometimes handicaps him a little in his representative capacity, but the high level of his conscientiousness, and the sustained interest he brings to his work, cannot but impress all who know him. He is certainly friendly to us.

On February 13th, M. Léonard was present at an important demonstration of Franco-Kabyle friendship at Tigzirt. Sixty-five Deputies to the Algerian and National Assemblies attended this function. The occasion was the conferring of the *Plaque de Grand Officier de la Légion d'Honneur* on the bachaga Ait Mohammed and other honours on various tribal dignitaries. The Kabyles, conscious of their weakness as a minority group *vis-à-vis* the Arabs, take undoubtedly favourably the French connexion and I think can be counted as genuine friends of France. At the banquet which followed, Ait Mohammed said: "*Je resterai jusqu'à mon dernier jour le serviteur passionné de la France. Le Ait Ali ont signé de leur sang leur pacte de l'amour avec leur patrie.*" It is of interest that there should recently have been published a novel about Kabyle life, in French, by a Kabyle author, Mouloud Mammeri, which has won an important literary prize. This work is a striking instance of the penetration of one race by the alien culture and ideas of another, and is an outstanding example of the pervasive quality of French civilisation.

3. Algerian Assembly

In his close of session speech, President Laquière ended on the following note: "*Autrefois chrysalide, notre assemblée montre aujourd'hui ses ailes. Elle a scellé une union sincère et revendique l'honneur d'être l'image d'une Algérie calme, paisible, française, qui garde sa sérénité dans l'agitation du monde.*" I think the claim made by M. Laquière is not unjustified.

During his term of the Presidency of the Assembly, M. Laquière, has certainly been a doughty champion of its rights and privileges and of the reality he claims it embodies of Franco-Moslem collaboration. This is doubtless well seen by the authorities who are concerned to maintain the prestige and pride of the Assembly. A high Government official recently told me that the Algerian Assembly was in his opinion a most important factor in maintaining peace and contentment throughout the territory. Delegates to it appreciate that they have here a forum which gives them an opportunity to vent grievances and to criticise. They also do a good deal of lobbying with the Administration and this is much appreciated by their constituents. M. Laquière may, however, have gone somewhat beyond his warrant in characterising in a speech from the chair during the session as "veritable spoliation" the Government decree of December 1952 which relates to the creation of a *Bureau d'Organisation des Ensembles Industriels Africains*. This decree, which does not even mention the Algerian Assembly, is concerned with the organisation of oil research in the Sahara. The Governor-General, in reply to the President, played the matter down and said he himself would be a member of the Bureau and as such he promised to look after the interests of Algeria. However, the decree makes it plain that the Government, while prepared to flatter the Assembly, does not intend it to have too ambitious ideas of its own competence.

The debates during the session passed off smoothly. In some instances, however, there was mass abstention on the part of the Nationalist and Communist members. There was no disorder, nevertheless, and the Opposition speeches were mostly ineffective and often patently perfunctory. The only incident worth reporting was that an M.T.L.D. member of the Finance Commission was asked to leave the commission for obstructing business. He did so under protest.

On March 5th several Moslem members of the Assembly addressed a telegram to the Prime Minister expressing their disquiet at the recent Franco-Italian agreement on the immigration of Italian labour into France and countries of the French Union. The Prime Minister replied that no measures would be taken that would prejudice Algeria.

The President of the Assembly also protested during the Budget debate against the floating of a loan by the nationalised Gas and Electricity Company of Algeria without the authority of the Assembly. This protest was not without effect, as a subsequent *arrêt* of the Conseil d'Etat confirmed that the authority for loans rests with the Assembly. The President had good reason for taking the point seriously. The indebtedness of Algeria is steadily increasing (advances from France were approximately 30 milliard francs this year—7 milliard more than last year) and the time is approaching when every new loan will have to be carefully tested for its contribution to the country's production capacity.

The following is a summary of the principal subjects dealt with by the Assembly during the session.

Budget

The Budget, as finally voted, provides for a surplus of 12 million francs, receipts being estimated at 110,679 million and expenditure at 110,667—and has been reported upon separately (see my despatch No. 12 E. of 5th March, 1953).

Migration

The Assembly also devoted some time to consideration of a report by a special mission consisting of one European and one Moslem member of the Assembly, who spent some time in France last summer enquiring into the working and living conditions of the Algerians who migrate to work there. The Assembly adopted a resolution on the conclusions of the mission, the main feature of which was a recommendation that the *Caisse des Allocations Familiales* of metropolitan France should provide up to 5 milliard francs a year for the construction of further craft training schools in Algeria. The families of Algerian workers in France at present receive allowances at a much lower rate than those payable to French workers, although the contributions of the workers and employers are the same. The difference is at present employed on the provision of welfare in France for the workers. Some facts the report contains are of interest. Of the 400,000 Algerians now in France, only 200,000 are in regular salaried employment, and only 120,000 actually on the books of the Ministry of Labour. The rest are casuals or even vagabonds. The report gives tribute to the efforts made to improve the lot of these men but much evidently remains to be done. It proposes the creation of a *Bureau de Co-ordination Médico-Social pour les Relations d'Algérie et la Métropole*. It is questionable, however, whether the main recommendation, the expansion of trade schools in Algeria, will really relieve the problem, as Algerians are traditionally employed as labourers and there may be trades union and other difficulties in the way of their working at skilled trades. The problem is constantly growing in importance. The high birth rate, particularly in the poorer mountain districts of Kabyle, drives men abroad in numbers increasing every year.

Social Security

The Assembly voted the institution of Old Age Insurance in Algeria. The scheme as finally adopted—pension at 65 years with a maximum of 60 per cent. salary—was approved against the advice of the Administration and it therefore remains to be seen whether the measure will be approved by the National Assembly.

A measure extending family allowances to fishermen—voted by the Algerian Assembly in its summmer session—was confirmed by the National Assembly on March 21st, against the wishes of the Government, which had put forward an alternative plan.

There was much debating during the session on Social Security in general in Algeria, and the Administration produced a report on their intentions in the matter. In this it is stated that the co-ordination of the social security systems in the metropolis and Algeria is now under study and measures are envisaged which would permit the extension of benefits to 200,000 families. There are many difficulties in the way. Some of these are quoted and they include the fact that the cost of family allowances would be double what it is in France owing to the larger families, and to the high accident rate which is very much higher owing to poor supervision and carelessness on the part of the workers. At present about one-fifth of the population benefits in some way or other from the social security system, which, the report points out, is double the average enjoyed throughout the world.

4. Education

Evidence of the increasing importance now attached to education as a solution of the problems of Algeria has been furnished during the period by the visits of M. André Marie, Minister of Education, and of M. Masson, Secretary of State for Technical Education. In a despatch, a copy of which I attach, the British Vice-Consul at Bône suggests that this stress on education may be based on a fallacy, but there is no doubt that the French have pinned their faith to it. They believe they are capable of so impregnating the Moslem mind with French cultural ideas that higher education will only confirm the association of the two races. The President of the Algerian Assembly, in a speech of welcome to M. André Marie, said: "*Ecoles égalent Algérie française: pas d'écoles égalent séparatisme.*" In his reply, M. Marie said that France, in educating Algeria would make both Moslem and French youth equally the trustees of our hopes for the future. He added that this would be a triumph for the *école laïque*. Nevertheless, the Minister's visit was boycotted by the Federation of Schoolteachers (C.G.T.) on the pretext that he was in the Government that was responsible for *la loi Barange* and the voting of public funds to support private schools. This boycott, however, had no apparent effect on the visit.

The purpose of M. Marie's visit was, in the first place, to initiate the Algerian counterpart of the Le Gorgeu Commission. This commission in Algeria is to draw up a comprehensive plan for education in this country, with special emphasis on technical and university education. The *Lycées Mixtes*—the Franco-Musulman grammar schools which are a feature of the educational system here—are to be developed, and extended to include girls. This latter step is a big innovation in a Moslem country.

Some of the figures M. André Marie gave may be of interest. The present rate of increase in primary education facilities is claimed to be 600 classes a year; the target set in 1944 was for the creation of 20,000 classes in primary grades over a period of 21 years. He concluded, however, that the building programme is about 18 months behind schedule. As regards secondary education, the total number of students, which was 23,000 in 1946, rose to 26,800 in 1951, while the proportion of Moslem students, which was 8 per cent., is now 15 per cent. The university population, now 4,800, has doubled since before the war.

M. Marie insisted on a dose of realism, pointing out that, even if it were possible to provide school facilities for every child in Algeria, the cost would be more than double the present total budget—and this is quite impossible.

M. Masson stressed the importance of technical education and said his aim was to give it to 60,000 children as against the present total of 10,000.

Both Ministers warned parents against the snare of a purely literary training which would not fit their children for their part in the present technical world. It is evidently realised that an unemployed *intelligentsia* would be a very disturbing political factor.

Obviously as a result of the visits of M. Marie and M. Masson the Federation of National Education (C.G.T.) and the Co-ordination Committee of the C.G.T. Trade Unions in Algeria, are organising on April 11th and 12th, a conference on Algerian schools. The Communists and their fellow-travellers claim that only 390,000 children attend school, while 1,700,000 Moslem children are unprovided for.

5 Visits

The Prime Minister visited Algeria on February 27th—ostensibly to take part in the annual general meeting of the Radical-Socialist Party at Batna in the Constantine prefecture. His tour was highly successful and no incidents of any kind marred it.

In a speech at Algiers he exalted the work of the Algerian Assembly and the example which it gave of collaboration between the two races. In a speech at Setif, he emphasised France's determination to continue her mission in North Africa undisturbed by any interference from outside, particularly if it came from countries who were in no position to give the French a lessson. The choice of Setif as the place where his speech was delivered is interesting as here, in 1945, about 1,000 people lost their lives in the Arab uprising.

It was also at Setif that M. René Mayer made his much remarked statement that the treaties of Bonn and Paris would not leave France without protection against a German attempt at hegemony and that were these treaties not ratified the whole system of guarantees would collapse and it would be necessary to rebuild on sand. "Who then would accept the responsibility of leaving France alone, unarmed and with no allies?" concluded the Prime Minister.

M. Pleven visited Algeria in March, inspecting the Foreign Legion at Sidi-Bel-Abbès and the Amphibian Warfare School at Arzew. At Sidi-Bel-Abbès he exalted the Foreign Legion and asserted that never had this, the Legion, shown France greater and more costly devotion than it had to-day.

Other Ministers who visited Algiers during the quarter included M. Louvel, Minister of Industry and Energy, whose purpose was to study on the spot the oil research work in the Sahara. He said that his presence in Algeria was evidence of the high interest the French Government had in the question of oil exploitation in the Sahara.

6. Labour

The iron-ore mines' strike (see section 6 of report for December quarter 1952) was settled on 27th January. The outcome was favourable to the miners, who returned to work on 1st February. Nine shipments were lost as a result of the strike.

On 9th February Algiers journalists, printers, &c., staged a one-day "warning" strike. Only the Communist *Alger Républicain* appeared that day. Subsequently the cost-of-living adjustments, claimed as due since August 1952 under the terms of agreements, have been made.

7. Miscellaneous

Amongst other visitors, perhaps mention should be made of the International Cultural Festival in January, which was a gathering of university students from many European countries, at which M. André Marie was represented by his *chef de Cabinet*. The Scottish students, with their Scottish dances and piper, stole the show, and shared first place . . . . *primi inter pares* . . . . with the Austrian and Spanish students.

In January, the first French-owned "Comet" aircraft paid a short visit to Maison Blanche (Algiers airport) from Paris, a flight which took approximately two hours in spite of unfavourable weather conditions (normal time for the direct flight is about four and a half hours). The machine was seen by many people and made a great impression.

The film "The Sound Barrier" had a successful Gala Première in Algiers on 12th March (see letter to Information Services Department 32/3A of 14th April, 1953).

The Second Frigate Squadron visited Algiers during March in connexion with Exercise Rendezvous. Although the visit was classed as operational, a certain amount of entertainment was exchanged and sports were played with French teams.

The Flag Officer Second-in-Command, Mediterranean Station, Admiral W. W. Davis, C.B., D.S.O., flying his flag in H.M.S. *Gambia*, paid an informal visit to Algiers from 23rd to 28th March. It was an extremely useful occasion. (See despatch No. 16 of 15th April.)

Many units of the U.S. Navy visited Algiers and other Algerian ports at various times during the quarter. The U.S.S. *Midway* and other vessels enjoyed considerable success at Algiers in January. The British Vice-Consul at Bône reported that a U.S. Fleet visit to that port was marked by better behaviour on the part of the United States ratings than was expected on the basis of earlier experiences.

The flood disaster in eastern England (and in Holland and Belgium) evoked widespread and practical sympathy which was canalised to a large extent by the Governor-General in a broadcast appealing for contributions of cash and in kind, to be sent to the Red Cross Society.

The Chief of the Imperial General Staff, General Sir John Harding, passed through Algiers *en route* for West Africa, towards the end of March.

The death of Her late Majesty Queen Mary was widely and sympathetically reported and brought a stream of messages to this Consulate-General. A well-attended and impressive Memorial Service was held on board H.M.S. *Gambia* (see despatch No. 14 of 2nd April (4/3A)).

Enclosure No. 2 in No. 25

Mr. Vice-Consul Bowker to Mr. Wakefield-Harrey (Communicated)

Bône,
January 22, 1953.

Sir,

After a long absence from this district, some impressions may be of interest.

The most prominent features were firstly the, at least outward, peaceful situation, and secondly, in the town itself, the rapid construction of flats, houses and other buildings.

One wonders how long this kind of truce in the native situation will last, and in what form the discontent will show itself again. To pretend the native is satisfied is wishful thinking. It may only need one or two bad harvests. There is evidence that Communist cells exist in many villages apart from the towns, some observers say there is one in every village. It is difficult to estimate the importance of this infiltration, but if it does increase, it might be used as a means of unifying action.

At present, the absence of Messali is felt very keenly and no other leader has yet shown himself. This lack of leadership in the whole of Algeria is the biggest asset for the Palais d'Eté. It should be remembered that Algeria has never been a unified country and the want of solidarity persists. An example of this was seen in 1945.

One side of this question seldom receives notice. No enthusiasm is shown by the younger generation for French rule. Increasing numbers of children are now receiving a good education and will be competing in many branches which were French reserves. Their influence will have to be reckoned with in native life, and it will be Nationalist.

The progress of nationalism can be linked with the progress of sport amongst the natives. Before the war native football teams were not permitted and many teams were mixed. Now it is the exception and there are more native teams than French.

Many sportsmen on both sides, who deplore it, will you that " racisme " in football is rife and can be understood when one is a spectator at a match between native and French teams.

The progress made in building was at once noticeable, both private and public. The municipality have built five large blocks of flats and more are to come. A new theatre and Casino is taking the place of the old theatre in the main avenue. It is to be hoped this will not meet the fate of the new hospital where the credits have run out and no more are forthcoming, and the work stopped in consequence.

The Agricultural Societies of Algeria have united to found and build the " Clinique de la Sécurité Agricole " on a commanding site at St. Cloud, the seaside residential quarter of Bône. The building is just finished and has cost 41 million francs. It will have three operating theatres, one specially for obstetrics. No expense is to be spared in equipping the clinic with modern fittings and appliances. It is for the use of all who are associated with agriculture and will have 51 beds.

Associations Agricoles de l'Est, whose headquarters are at Bône, are building a block of flats, 41 in number, for their employees with incomes not exceeding 40,000 francs per month.

The Cie des Phosphates de Constantine have built a block of flats, 12 in number, for their Bône employees, and the rental is 4,000 francs for a four-roomed flat.

Private building, which has been proceeding rapidly, has received a slight check, and many persons who have bought ground are waiting for their credits to be opened.

There are rumours that many colons are not in a happy position with the banks, and some foreclosures have been enacted.

I have, &c.

GEORGE C. BOWKER.

JF 1013/8 No. 26

QUARTERLY REVIEW, APRIL–JUNE 1953

Mr. Consul-General Wakefield-Harrey to the Marquess of Salisbury
(Received July 14)

(No. 38. Restricted) *Algiers,*
My Lord Marquess, *July 10, 1953.*

I have the honour to submit herewith a review of political events in Algeria for the quarter ending the 30th of June, 1953.

2. The period was one of quiet, with no breaches of public order of a political character and with rather less than usual Communist or " separatist " agitation. The authorities have continued their counter-offensive in the Courts against the Communist and Nationalist press and have secured convictions on charges of seditious or untrue publication; these legal proceedings have aroused little reaction on the part of the public. The election of a Moslem of such authority and integrity as M. Fares as President of the Algerian Assembly and the efficient conduct of business under his Presidency, has had a beneficent effect, and has revealed the poverty of leadership amongst the anti-government parties, who are quite incapable of producing a figure in any way comparable.

3. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat, Tunis, Tangier and Tetuan, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence) at Malta.

I have, &c.

C. O. WAKEFIELD-HARREY.

Enclosure in No. 26

1. Algerian Assembly

The Algerian Assembly has had no active summer session and the debates have been conducted smoothly and with very little political friction. At the sitting of the 3rd of June, to which Her Majesty's Consul-General was formally invited, the President read a message of congratulation to Her Majesty The Queen on Her Coronation. All members spontaneously rose and remained standing during the President's speech.

On the 13th of May M. Fares was elected President of the Assembly. He polled 100 votes out of 120—the voting strength of the House being 120, 60 1st College and 60 2nd College. M. Fares, who is an uncompromising supporter of the integration of Algeria within the French Union, carries great weight in the Assembly, and there is no doubt that his election has proved a stabilising factor in the country. In his speech reviewing current events after his election, M. Fares' main theme was that solidarity between Europeans and Moslems had been proved in two wars, and it was only by strengthening it that he saw any future for Algeria. He asked for a united effort from the metropole and Algerians within the framework of the new 4-Year Plan and *dans le jeu puissant de toutes les solidarités nationales* for the economic and social reconstruction of Algeria. At the same time M. Fares warned against too ambitious projects for the industrialisation of Algeria. " One must not lose sight," he emphasised, " of the difficulties which beset this country, the most evident being the lack of raw materials and skilled workers, the high cost of industrial equipment, and the overriding factor of distance." A passage of M. Fares' speech, in which he expounds his ideas on the French Union, is given as an annex to this report.

The 1st Vice-President of the Assembly (European), elected at the same time as M. Fares, is M. C. Brincat, Mayor of Setif, a personal friend of M. René Mayer. The 2nd Vice-President is a Kable, M. Chekat Ali. The 3rd Vice-President is M. A. de Serigny, a wealthy industrialist and shipping magnate, who is well known to the Consulate-General and well disposed towards Great Britain.

During the session the Assembly passed, *inter alia*, a motion completely revising the basis of municipal administration and taxation in Algeria. It also resolved to extend to Algeria the town planning legislation and the system of permits to build now in force in the metropole, and to extend to hospital staffs the social security system as at present applied to Government and commercial officials and employees. Somewhat reluctantly, it also accepted the proposal of the Administration to extend summer time to Algeria. An amendment was accepted by the Administration limiting summer time to the period between the 1st of May and the 1st of October. This year it will start on the 12th of July.

The question of the status of the Sahara has been more than once before the House and its committees have passed resolutions urging that there should be no change in the status of the Southern Territories, which should continue to form an integral part of Algeria. One resolution requested the Government to provide for a debate in the National Assembly at an early moment on the question of the reorganisation of the Southern Territories. The Governor-General informed the Assembly that he has insisted that firms and persons responsible for the conduct of oil research in the Sahara should maintain close contact with the leaders of the various committees, &c. of the Assembly. Lack of such contact had in the past caused misunderstanding and led to disturbing and often false rumours.

On the 6th of June the Governor-General outlined to the Assembly the second 4-year Plan for Algeria. The Plan, as presented by the Governor-General and accompanied by the observations of the Assembly, is to be examined by the competent commission in Paris of the *Commissariat du Plan*.

In his speech to the President the Governor-General stressed that, while there have been important increases in production (such as electricity rising from 346 kWh. in 1946 to 667 kWh. in 1951), consumption had outrun production, and the further plan for capital development would in these circumstances demand increased support from the metropole. Financing will, in any event, be more difficult. Until recently there have been surpluses available in the ordinary Algerian Budget. These have now vanished and the prospects of raising further money by taxation in Algeria are not good. The total expenditure planned was 280 milliard francs. In education greater stress would be laid on technical education and schools. Preference would be given to smaller and medium irrigation projects rather than big new works.

At its final session the Assembly approved the Plan in its general lines but linked its approval to a request that the metropole should assume responsibility for that proportion of public expenditure in Algeria which was of a national character (in particular, education) and that advances to Algeria from the Fund for Modernisation and Equipment should be increased to 40 milliard a year.

2. Municipal Elections

A feature of the municipal elections was the failure of the Moslem parties to present a united list. In some towns there were as many as five different Moslem groups. In some cases, oddly enough, the U.D.M.A. joined hands with the Communists, while

the M.T.L.D. presented itself alone. In most of the larger towns the majority—and in some cases, all—of the Moslem members were anti-Government, although I have been assured that many of them are ready to co-operate on day-to-day affairs. In smaller centres and rural areas, most of the successful Moslem candidates elected had Government approval.

M. Jacques Chevallier was elected Mayor of Algiers in succession to M. Gazagne. M. Chevallier, who is ex-R.P.F. and a Deputy to the National Assembly, has had a varied political career and had the support of M. Borgeaud, a Senator, and M. Blachette, a Deputy to the National Assembly, who have important interests in the press and in the wine and alfa trade. M. Chevallier is a man of great personal charm, is young and active and speaks excellent English. His relations with the Consulate-General are extremely cordial. His mother is an American belonging to an old French family long established in Louisiana.

M. Laquière, retiring President of the Algerian Assembly, was re-elected Mayor of Eugène. There are 45 members on the Council, including 18 Moslems. M. Laquière secured 42 votes, U.D.M.A. allowing its members a free vote. M. Laquière's grandfather was Mayor of St. Eugène in 1860, and he is generally thought to represent what the Moslems consider French imperialism in Algeria. This makes the voting all the more surprising and is a tribute to M. Laquière's personal prestige.

3. Labour

The last two months of the quarter were marked by a number of short token strikes which involved the more highly organised trade unions, such as railway workers, dockers, gas and electricity personnel, &c.

The month of May opened with the traditional May Day parades throughout the principal towns of the country. There were no untoward incidents to report and, at Algiers, it rained so heavily that the two parades planned were conspicuously small.

The strike of merchant navy officers in France, which lasted throughout the first fortnight of May, disrupted traffic between Algeria and the metropole although its repercussion on local exports were not as serious as it was feared they might be.

Other strike action included a day's stoppage of work by the personnel of *Electricité et Gaz d'Algérie*. Ninety per cent. of the workers were affected and although domestic supplies were not cut, all public transport at Algiers was affected.

On the 27th of May a series of nuisance strikes ranging from two to twenty-four hours were called jointly by the C.G.T./C.F.T.C. throughout the country. Railways, public transport, hospital services and a number of private firms were involved. In the case of railway workers the main grievance was a threatened closing down of certain deficitary lines in the south. F.O. trade unionists did not take part in view, it was said, of the ministerial crisis. Dislocation of services was nowhere serious.

In June labour disputes included a series of dock strikes at Oran (2nd, 3rd and 4th June) which involved, at the same time, a refusal to load two steamers bound for Indochina; a 24-hour strike of Air France personnel on the 16th of June; and a series of short token strikes throughout the country which had the backing of all three trade unions, the C.G.T., C.F.T.C. and F.O. —an event noted with satisfaction in the Communist *Alger Republicain*.

4. Communism

Among the more noteworthy manifestations by the Communists to keep interest alive there should be recorded the considerable capital made out of the execution of the Rosenbergs in the United States. Protest meetings were organised throughout Algeria and a violent press campaign was launched which culminated, at Algiers, in the visit of a delegation to the American Consulate-General on the 19th of June, 1953.

Other activities of the Algerian Communist Party included the despatch of three delegates to the World Women's Congress at Copenhagen on the 5th of June. Each of the three departments was represented, Mme. Abaggia Fodil of Oran, a committee member of the *Union des Femmes d'Algérie*, leading the party.

Over 30 delegates of the Algerian trade unions (C.G.T.) attended the 29th conference of the C.G.T. in Paris (June 7–12). Prominence was given in local reports to the speech made by M. Lakhdai Kaidi, secretary of the Algerian Trade Unions. M. Kaidi seems to have laid special stress on the plight of local agricultural workers and apportioned part of the blame on the Franco-Spanish and Franco-Italian trade agreements which, he claimed, had curtailed Algerian exports of fruit and vegetables to France. M. Kaidi also revealed that only a few thousand of an estimated 500,000 agricultural workers had so far been enrolled.

The Communist weekly *Liberté* was seized by the local authorities on the 28th of May.

The political campaign, hinged on the real shortage of schools in the country (section 4 of the enclosure to Algiers despatch No. 15 of the 14th of April, 1953, refers), continued throughout the quarter. A "nationalist" angle was given to the campaign by the *Intissar el Djazairia*, an association which seeks to promote teaching and education in Arabic, and which proposed to hold a special gala. Permission to hold the fête was refused by the local authorities, their action producing the now usual protest.

5. Political Trials

The authorities continued to bring to trial, for actions endangering the safety of the State, members of the Algerian Communist Party and the M.T.L.D.

Somewhat out of the ordinary, since most cases originate and are tried in Algeria, was the trial of M. Ahmed Mezerna, President of the M.T.L.D. and editor of the party organ, *L'Algérie Libre*, who appeared before the *Tribunal Correctionnel* at Paris in June for an article published in November, 1950, when his paper appeared in Paris, its publication at Algiers having been banned. Judgment was handed down on the 3rd of July, M. Mezerna being condemned to a suspended sentence of ten days' imprisonment and a fine of 50,000 francs.

M. Mezerna and certain party members are appealing against the sentences passed on them in March for subversive tracts and articles. Their appeal, which was originally to have been heard on the 25th of June, has now been postponed until the 9th of July.

Maître Abderrahmane Kiouane, who was tried at the same time as Mezerna on the 16th of March and was found not guilty, is now the subject of an appeal by the Public Prosecutor against this finding. This appeal, which was tabled to be heard on the 25th of June, has been postponed until the 16th of July to enable a barrister from Paris to be briefed for the defence. It is worth recording that Mr. D. N. Pritt, Q.C., President of the International Association of Democratic Jurists, is stated to have addressed a protest to the President of the French Republic asking for the first judgment to be upheld.

6. Visits

The holding in Algeria in June of the Congress of the Presidents of the *Conseils Généraux* of France occasioned a certain political activity. During their tour of the country the delegates received a cordial and most hospitable reception. M. Fares' speech to the Congress has been reported separately.

The visit of the Italian Ambassador on the 5th of May was an event which gave rise to much social activity. The Ambassador came to Algiers to receive on behalf of M. Einaudi the degree *honoris causa* conferred on him by the University of Algiers in recognition of his public and academic services. In his speech the Ambassador emphasised the interest of Italy in North Africa and the desirability of these territories being developed in harmony by the European countries.

7. Miscellaneous

On the 13th of April, at an inaugural meeting attended by 800 people, a branch was formed at Constantine and a president elected of the *Amicale des Electeurs Français-Musulmans du Premier Collège*. This is an indication of the accession to the 1st College of a growing number of Moslems who thereby accept French civil status.

On the 13th of April a musical drama was performed at the Opera House entitled, *La Clémence du Pacha*. In this production French, Moslem, Spanish and Italian actors participated, and it was considered as a symbol of an advance in cultural solidarity.

Another Kabyle novelist has gained a literary prize in France—Mouloud Feraoun, who is a schoolmaster at Fort National—for the novel "La Terre et le Sang." This book is an interesting and realistic account of life in a Kabyle village. The assimilation of French culture by Kabyle intellectuals is indeed a remarkable phenomenon.

Annex to No. 26

Extract from the speech of M. Fares on his election as President of the Algerian Assembly

Cette œuvre magnifique, rêve de nos espérances, nous ne pouvons la réaliser, mes chers collègues, que dans le cadre d'une communauté nationale, sans détours ni artifices, dans le respect des lois de la République.

Cet épanouissement ne sera possible qu'en pleine et mutuelle confiance en l'avenir de notre beau pays, par une action franche, loyale et féconde de toutes nos populations, sans exclure personne, action commandée par l'esprit de solidarité qui s'est affirmé avec éclat au cours de deux longues guerres,

car la fraternité des combats a fait naître des sentiments qui n'ont cessé de s'épanouir dans le souvenir des souffrances et d'amitié de nos communs héros.

L'Union française, qui fait la grandeur de la France métropolitaine, représente, mes chers collègues, pour tous ceux qui se sont abreuvés aux magnifiques sources de la culture française et de l'Islam, des valeurs humaines qui ne peuvent s'apprécier ni en or, ni en unité de feu, ni en force atomique, mais en valeurs plus durables, en héritage de tout ce qui a été passé au crible depuis de nombreux lustres.

C'est à cette œuvre, qui doit devenir par notre farouche et commune volonté une réalité bien vivante, qu'avec foi et aussi avec passion, du haut de cette tribune, je vous convie mes chers collègues, afin que viennent rapidement les jours où tous les hommes de notre beau et généreux pays, confondus dans une fraternelle égalité, une même pensée et un même idéal, comme au temps de la lutte victorieuse, puissent maîtriser d'un même élan leur destin d'hommes et l'avenir, l'avenir, mes chers collègues, de l'immortelle France.

JF 1013/11 No. 27

QUARTERLY REVIEW, JULY–SEPTEMBER 1953

Mr. Consul-General Wakefield-Harrey to Mr. Eden. (Received October 14)

(No. 58. Restricted) *Algiers, October 10, 1953.*

Sir,

I have the honour to submit herewith a political review on events in Algeria during the quarter ended the 30th of September, 1953.

2. Although the situation in the territory is in no way disquieting, and, as the review shows, presents indeed several encouraging features, the temper of local French residents, particularly of the land-owning class, continues to be somewhat depressed. The events in Egypt, the prolonged agitation at U.N.O. in the matter of Tunis and Morocco, in fact the international picture as a whole, continues to sap their confidence in their ability to maintain themselves here indefinitely. This depression is not shared by the officials, whose centre of gravity is in Paris and who have no roots or stake in this country.

3. The absence of any reaction in Nationalist circles to recent events in Morocco was noteworthy. Despite a recession in certain trades, there is no doubt that a good harvest and continued high activity in building and public works have been a stabilising factor and have kept discontent at a low level. Any pronounced cut in the amount of French credit made available to the territory during the next year would be likely, however, to have a very adverse effect.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat, Tunis, Tangier and Tetuan, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence) at Malta.

I have, &c.

C. O. WAKEFIELD-HARREY.

Enclosure in No. 27

1. Algerian Assembly

As briefly reported last quarter, at the last session of the Algerian Assembly before the summer recess began on the 3rd of July, the House, while approving the second 4-Year Plan in its general lines, coupled its approval with a motion to urge the Metropole to assume more financial responsibility.

A delegation of the Assembly, led by M. Fares, its President, subsequently went to Paris to negotiate for an increased grant from the Fund for the Modernisation of Equipment amounting to 40 milliard for the next financial year, as opposed to 28 milliard received for the current financial year. A proportion of this, 8 milliard, is to be used to implement the Fund for Social Progress which has been set up to improve the standard of living of the native Algerian population. These negotiations are still in progress and no statement has as yet been issued.

Algerian Deputies have been active with the competent Ministries in the matter of fixing cereal prices. They are naturally pleased that the disposal-of-surplus tax, hitherto payable also by the Algerian growers, will no longer be levied in Algeria, the Assembly's resolution on this point having been accepted.

Deputies have also been pressing the Ministries concerned to accept the resolution of the Assembly in its last session which insisted on direct French participation in the financing of Algerian railways, the deficit of which is rising at a disturbing rate.

After addressing a private session of the Assembly on the 3rd of July, 1953, on the industrial possibilities of the Southern Territories, M. Louis Armand, Director-General of the S.N.C.F., who is also president of the newly-created *Bureau d'Organisation des Ensembles Industriels Africains,* touched on certain of the major issues with special reference to the status of the territories, and denied that there was any question of changing their status. "In fact," he said, "we ought to dispel this uneasiness." "It is," he said, "only an economic association (*i.e.,* with the other Saharan territories) that is planned." He also stressed the importance of patience and emphasised that nothing positive could be expected for at least another fifteen years. A further statement of his that the Algerian Assembly and Algeria will always first be consulted on any matters relating to the territories was particularly well received. This question has exercised Algerian opinion for some time. Local sentiment demands that the territories should be administered from Algiers since, although outside capital is needed for development, opinion in Algeria is that a large proportion of the profits should be reserved to Algeria and applied to the economic development of this territory.

2. Governor-General

The Governor-General, M. Léonard, has frequently been absent on official visits to Paris during the quarter. However, he only managed to get away on his annual leave to France towards the end of August, having been held up first by the strikes in Algeria and later by events in Morocco. He returned to Algiers on the 16th of September and was accompanied by the new assistant director of his Civil Cabinet, M. Maurice Lambert.

3. Communism

The three months under review, apart from being seasonally quiet, must have brought disappointment to the local Communists with the realisation that their hold on workers, as witnessed by the August strikes, seems to have lessened.

Another setback suffered by Communists and sympathisers was contained in the announcement, made following the municipal elections held earlier in the year, that the Algerian C.G.T. was to be evicted from the new building it occupied at Hussein-Dey, a township in the immediate suburbs of Algiers. It would appear that the outgoing town council, or some members of it, had leased to the C.G.T., for a period of fifteen years at an annual rate of 1 franc, a newly-erected building which it is now hoped to utilise for different purposes.

Overt Communist activity during the summer appears to have concentrated mainly on the organisation of journeys behind the iron curtain to reward the faithful. The series began with the attendance of an Algerian delegate, Mme. Chappuis, at the Congress of the Women's International Federation held at Copenhagen early in the summer.

In August, a party of seven Algerian Communists, headed by René Justrabo, delegate to the Algerian Assembly (Personality No. 33), enjoyed a conducted tour which, begun at Moscow on the 4th of August, embraced principally Tadzhikistan, an obvious choice in view of its largely Moslem population. The party is reported to have left Moscow for France and Algeria on the 15th of August.

The local Communist daily claimed that an important delegation of Algerian youth, said to number 200, attended the Fourth Festival of Youth which was held in Bucharest in August. The party, which was headed by M. Lakdar Kaidi, secretary of the local co-ordination committee, included a local Moslem troupe, *El Misrah El Djazairi.*

Finally, local preparation for the Third World Congress of Trade Unions, which is to be held in Vienna from October 1st to 21st, has consisted essentially in the appointment of delegates throughout the country to represent the main trade unions. A preparatory conference was also held at Algiers on the 26th of September for the nomination of local delegates. It is understood that the Algerian representation will be ten strong and will include representatives of the mine workers, tramway employees, post office personnel and metal workers.

4. Nationalism

The main event during the quarter, and one which received considerable publicity in Nationalist and Communist papers, was the local reaction to the clash, which occurred in Paris on the 14th of July, between M.T.L.D. demonstrators and the police, as a result of which five Algerian Moslems were killed.

On the 21st of July a committee for the defence of the Algerian victims was formed at Algiers, in the course of a meeting held in the premises of the local Communist daily. The committee included, in addition to certain prominent fellow travellers, representatives of the Communist and Nationalist organisations at Algiers. The next day, July 22, the day on which a funeral service was being held in Paris, strikes were called throughout the country. Dock workers and labourers in brickworks and quarries appear to have been the most responsive.

The return of the bodies of four of the six deceased on the 25th of July, gave rise to an orderly manifestation at Algiers. The four bodies were buried in their respective native villages on the following day. The two remaining bodies were received (one at Algiers and the other at Oran) towards the end of September. Throughout, with only one exception, the strict police measures taken were wisely relaxed in the face of determined but restrained crowds.

In July the U.D.M.A. sent an official delegation to Cairo to attend the festivities organised by General Neguib on the 23rd of July to mark the first anniversary of the Egyptian revolution. The delegation was headed by M. Ferhat Abbas and was, in retrospect, the occasion for some much needed publicity for the party.

5. French Economy Measures

The first steps taken in France, with as object a reduction in the cost of living, were followed with interest throughout Algeria, although it was soon apparent that the measures introduced in Metropolitan France would not be applicable here and that Algeria would have to look to herself for any local improvement. For instance, no change in taxation would have taken place without prior sanction of the Algerian Assembly, while the reduction in export taxes decided in Paris could not be passed on to the Algerian consumer as Algeria, in this respect, was treated as a part of France and could not therefore benefit from the lower export prices now available to other French overseas territories.

With this in mind, the Acting Governor-General called a meeting of the local trade associations in the course of which M. Henri Cote, President of the *Confédération Générale du Patronat,* undertook to organise a ways and means committee to further a policy of price reductions. M. Cote acted promptly and shortly after was able to obtain from the leather and shoe trades, as well as the clothing trade association, the promise of price cuts of the order of 5 per cent. M. Cote has not failed to point that the cost of the experiment falls exclusively on the trade as it is fairly certain that the Algerian Assembly, when it meets early in October, will be in no position to grant any relief from taxation, faced as it now is with increasing public expenditure and no prospect of improvement in revenue.

In the matter of the reorganisation of the wine industry, the President of the Assembly telegraphed on the 9th of September to the Minister of the Interior, pointing out that the statute of Algeria raised certain juridical difficulties concerning the application of the proposed measures. Although Algeria was favourable to any measure which would put the industry on a sound basis, she could not accept the uprooting of vines, which would deal a harsh blow to the whole structure of Algerian economy. Deputies for Algeria took an active part in lobbying the various Ministries and have declared themselves in general satisfied with the decree, which, according to its article 46, will be applicable to Algeria.

6. Labour

The strikes launched in France in August, ostensibly as a protest against the proposed economy measures to be taken by the Government, had their repercussion in Algeria (see Algiers despatch No. 48 of the 22nd of August, 1953), disrupting the economic and social life of the country and constituting the highlight of an otherwise quiet period in labour relations.

Apart from a small number of minor strikes, affecting in the main private undertakings and all nominally called to secure better wages, there is only one other major dispute to record. On the 11th of July, the C.F.T.C. and C.G.T. Printers' Unions staged a strike which, for eight days, prevented all papers except the Communist *Alger Républicain* from appearing. The strikers' grievance was that certain concessions granted several months earlier still remained unhonoured and the strike came to an end when the newspaper proprietors agreed to the principal claims put forward by the strikers.

7. Mecca Pilgrimage

The press gave much prominence this year (as in other years) to the 1953 Mecca pilgrimage. Some 2,000 Algerians took part, and of the seven deaths which occurred among the Algerian pilgrims, all were due to senility or the heat.

The Governor-General, M. Léonard, and M. Fares, the President of the Algerian Assembly, in the course of speeches on the departure, made forceful pleas for unity and tolerance and reminded the pilgrims that the journey they were undertaking gave them opportunities to promote understanding among their Moslem brothers. M. Fares said, among other things, " In this gathering of the faithful you will meet brother Moslems from all parts of the world. Tell them that, while you remain faithful to your creed, you are resolved to become more and more a part of the *grande communauté française*.

Both the Governor-General and M. Fares were again on the quayside to welcome the pilgrims' return. The spokesman of the pilgrims, denouncing the inhuman treatment received by some Algerian pilgrims who proceeded by road, added: *La France a droit à la gratitude de tous ses enfants qu'elle traite avec le plus grand amour. Pour nous Musulmans elle est le pays de liberté*. The Governor-General made a suitable reply.

The pilgrimage from Algeria is in fact well organised and the facilities for pilgrims, as far as the French authorities can provide, are excellent. There is a political background to this, inasmuch as the pilgrims in general return to Algeria with a poor impression of the conditions of their fellow religionists in other Moslem countries they visit, and mostly tell their friends that they are much better off under the French than they would be elsewhere.

8. Impact of Events in Neighbouring Territories

Although before the deposition of the Sultan of Morocco there was a certain amount of speculation as to what was actually taking place, surprisingly little excitement was shown after the event, and local French press and radio reaction was confined to merely giving a factual account of the Sultan's deposition. The native population seems to have been entirely apathetic, and there were no demonstrations and no meetings appear to have been held to express disapproval. The French population did not conceal their jubilation and much satisfaction was privately expressed that a disagreeable and obstinate personality who had shown himself to be a coldly determined enemy of France had been removed from the scene.

9. Visits

The Secretary of State for the French Armed Forces, M. Chevigné, and the Military Governor of Paris, General Zeller, visited Algiers during July to attend the summmer manœuvres of the 10th Military Region. The American Military Attaché at Paris. Colonel N. H. Harper, also attended and watched the manœuvres.

The Under-Secretary of State for French Territories Overseas, M. Schleiter, passed through Algiers on the 3rd of September on his return to Paris from Brazzaville, where he had attended the opening of the Brazzaville Trade Fair.

H.M.S. *Chieftain,* under the command of Commander R. F. Wells, D.F.C. and Bar, R.N., paid an informal visit to Oran from the 18th to the 22nd of July. Her Majesty's Consul, representing Her Majesty's Consul-General, went to Oran for the occasion.

Several units of the United States Navy visited Algiers during August and September.

The Belgian training ship, the corvette *Lieutenant de Vaisseau Billet* paid a short visit in July. This visit coincided with the Belgian National Day and His Royal Highness Prince Albert of Liège, who was serving on board as a naval cadet, and other officers attended a reception given by the Belgian Consul-General.

The Italian training ship *Amerigo Vespucci* visited Bône between the 1st and 4th of August. There was a *Vin d'Honneur* at the Town Hall on the day of her arrival but the attendance was not very large.

10. Miscellaneous

In July M. Trémeaud, Préfet of Algiers, visited the United States within the framework of N.A.T.O. under the auspices of the United States State and Defence Departments. On his return, at a press conference he said that he was very much impressed with what he had seen and experienced. The defence of America, he told his listeners, is being carried out in a determined manner, and is based on a firm desire to defend the way of life which makes the United States a country where social classes

are practically non-existent, and which the Préfet described as the "paradise of the workers." M. Trémeaud's speech received scant notice in the press, which still sulks about America. Influential "colons" do not think it appropriate that American wealth and social progress should be talked about too fulsomely in Algeria, as such conditions are quite unrealisable here.

General Leroy, who has been in command of the French Air Force in Algeria since 1951, has been transferred to take over charge of *L'Ecole Polytechnique* in France, he being the first Air Force officer to hold this post. He is succeeded by Colonel Firroloni, who has been up to now Deputy Chief of Staff of the Air Force at Paris and before 1950 was for several years Chief of Headquarters Staff of the 5th Air Region (Algiers).

A by-election to the National Assembly (Second College) which was caused by the death of M. Mekki, took place at Oran on the 20th of September. M. Sidi Kara, Independent, and M. Fodil, Communist, were the main contestants. M. Sidi Kara secured the election, receiving 173,308 votes out of a total of 263,350 registered voters, against his opponent's 2,924. (The figures at the last election were: M. Mekki (Franco-Moslem Union), 129,375; Communists, 8,497; M.T.L.D., 16,272; U.D.M.A., 18,863.)

Daylight saving time, which was put into practice for the first time in Algeria as an experiment on the 12th of July, ended on the 26th of September for the current year.

The Italian Vice-Consulate at Bône was reopened on the 27th of July. The British Vice-Consul at Bône reports that the Italian naval visit and the reopening of the Vice-Consulate pleased the comparatively large Italian community. French comments from private persons have been rather sarcastic and those natives who took any notice were not pleased. The Italian record before the war in Tripoli and Italian agitation in eastern Algeria have, the Vice-Consul remarks, left unpleasant memories in the Department of Constantine.

POLITICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS IN ALGERIA FOR THE QUARTER ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1953

1. Algerian Assembly

The Assembly had an active session and debates have been temperate and, for the most part, constructive. The President, M. Fares, has shown skill and tact in handling the Assembly and its increasingly smooth working is largely due to the authority he has established. During the session, the principal subjects before the House were the teaching of Arabic in schools, the administration of Moslem worship, and the reform of agencies of agricultural co-operation in Algeria. Final adjustments were also made to the 1953–54 Budget. At a special session in December on the occasion of the visit of the Minister of the Interior, M. Martinaud-Deplat, the Minister announced that it was proposed to set up a "Commission Algérienne de Codification" which would sit in Paris and consist of representatives of the Assembly and of the Administration. Its task would be to advise on the respective competencies of the Assembly and the French Administration. Such a commission was a necessity if the many difficulties of interpretation of the Organic Law of 1947 were to be obviated. M. Martinaud-Deplat also announced that important measures for decentralisation of the administration in Algeria were shortly to be put forward; considerable devolution of authority from the Government-General to the Prefectures and Sous-Prefectures was contemplated.

2. Nationalism/Communism

The capital which both the M.T.L.D. and U.D.M.A. are attempting to make out of unemployment among the native population has given the Algerian Communist Party and the C.G.T. food for thought, and has led to much mutual recrimination.

The Central Committee of the Algerian Communist Party held an important meeting on October 31 and November 1 which was attended by Leon Faix, a member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party. The burden of the meeting appears to have been to consider plans for the forthcoming elections and the steps to be taken to counter the rift between the party and the M.T.L.D. As a result of this meeting an appeal was put out by means of pamphlets and the press calling for the formation of a united North African Democratic Front.

On December 11, the M.T.L.D. launched an appeal for the creation of an Algerian National Congress, a move in competition with the Communist suggestion that a United Democratic Front be created. The latter is perhaps more concerned with the immediate future in the shape of the forthcoming elections to the Algerian Assembly (January 31, 1954) which the M.T.L.D. has decided to boycott. The M.T.L.D.'s aims appear based on the longer view and, if successful, would prove a real threat to the Algerian Communist Party. In all this there has been a reversal of the usual positions, with the U.D.M.A. agreeing to join the Communists for electoral purposes and the M.T.L.D. pointing the finger of scorn.

The decision of the French Communists to vote for M. Naegalen during the recent presidential elections has given the local party an unwanted opportunity for the exercise of verbal acrobatics. M. Naegelen is still remembered by Communists and Nationalists alike for his active repression of their activities while Governor-General of Algeria.

Between October 4 and 19, the M.T.L.D. and C.S.V.R. (Comité de Secours aux Victimes de la Répression) organised a fortnight for the liberation of political prisoners and the return of Messali Hadj to Algeria. A number of meetings were prohibited by the authorities and frequent arrests made.

On October 29, Mr. D. N. Pritt, Q.C., the President of the Association of International Democratic Jurists, was at Algiers, together with Mr. J. Nordman, the general secretary of this association in Paris, to assist in the defence of a number of M.T.L.D. party leaders. Despite this, some of the defendants were awarded prison sentences, while all had to pay heavy fines.

3. Labour

Events during the quarter included the normal run of minor strikes, the refusal of Algerian dockers to load a number of vessels bound for Indo-China, local repercussions following the strike of postal and air ground staff in France.

A certain apathy towards Communist-sponsored strikes is manifest and the C.G.T. has made an effort to whip up enthusiasm by a series of trade union conferences. Increasing attention is also being bestowed upon the native agricultural worker by the Communists. A C.G.T. Union now exists to try and rally workers. So far success has not been marked, the Bône area appearing to be the most responsive.

Part of the trend away from the C.G.T.-controlled unions may be accounted for by the increasing stress which is given to Moslem participation in the management of the local Communist party and C.G.T. trade unions. In a country where the fundamental differences which divide European and native are never far from the surface, this emphasis on native affairs may well have done a lot to weaken membership among Europeans.

4. Visits

Algeria was visited by an unusually large number of personalities during the quarter. These included, among others, King Idriss of Libya, M. Ramarony, Secretary of State for Merchant Shipping; M. Gavin, Secretary of State for the Navy; General Fay, Chief of Staff of the French Air Force (on an inspection tour of air defences in Algeria), and M. Paul Coste-Floret, Minister of Public Health. M. Martinaud-Deplat was here in December. He addressed a meeting of the Algerian Assembly and of the *Conseil Général* at Constantine.

M. Wagner, President of the Commission for Internal Affairs in the National Assembly, after an extensive fact-finding tour in Algeria, stated in Algiers that the complete integration of the Algerian economy with that of France would provide a solution to Algeria's economic problems.

A delegation of the Commission for Internal Affairs of the Council of the Republic visited Algeria in November to enquire into the problem of the exodus of Algerian labour to the Metropole.

5. Miscellaneous

The headquarters of Admiral Perrier, commanding the French Naval Air Arm in the Mediterranean, were transferred from Hycres to Algiers on November 8.

Lieutenant-Colonel Rezig Rabah, on promotion to command the 1st Artillery Regiment at Medea, becomes the first Moslem to reach that rank in the army in Algeria. Colonel Rezig is an old pupil of the military school at Autan.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

JF 1012/2

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN ALGERIA

Mr. Wakefield-Harrey to Lord Salisbury. (*Received September 8*)

(No. 44. Confidential) *Algiers,*
My Lord Marquess, *July 18, 1953.*

I have the honour to transmit herewith my Personalities Report for Algeria for 1953.

2. It has been thought necessary to introduce several personalities to the list for the first time. To compensate for this and to keep the list within a reasonable length, several names which were included last year in the list but which do not appear at the moment of writing to have sufficient title to remain in it, have been deleted. One or two of the longer entries have been rewritten and compressed to much less than their previous length without, it is thought, any loss in their value.

I have, &c.
C. O. WAKEFIELD-HARREY.

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1. Abbas, Ferhat

Born 1899 at Tahert (Algeria). Chemist by profession, and president of the Moslem Students' Friendly Society at Algiers. Was formerly a member of the Assembly of the French Union. Is Secretary-General of the comparatively moderate U.D.M.A. (Union Democratique du Manifeste Algérien) Nationalist party, and editor of *La République Algérienne*.

2. Abbo, Gabriel

Born 26th June, 1883, at Abbo (Algeria). Wine-grower. Mayor of Abbo since 1918. President of Algerian Federation of Mayors (1919–47). Delegate to the Algerian Assembly. President of C.G.V.A. (Confederation Générale des Vignerons Algériens). Vice-President of F.N.V. (Federation National des Vignerons). Officer of the Legion of Honour. Known as the Grand Old Man of the Algerian wine-growers.

3. Alazard, Professor Jean
Born about 1897. Dean of the Faculty of Letters and director of the National Art Gallery at Algiers. Is president of L'Alliance Française. Has visited the United Kingdom as a guest of the British Council and proved helpful in arranging lectures by British Council representatives visiting Algiers. Is married.

4. Bayle, Francis
Born 1901. Landowner and farmer. Mayor of Saida, member of the Departmental Council of Oran and delegate to the Algerian Assembly. Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Was a member of the Finance Committee of the Algerian Assembly, 1950–51, and first vice-president of the Assembly, 1951–52.

5. Blachette, Georges
Born about 1897. Served in the Great War. Is president of the Federation of Algerian Producers' and Exporters' Association. A man of wealth and considerable influence, owns *Le Journal*, one of the Algerian daily (Right-wing) newspapers, and is believed to have purchased *L'Echo d'Alger* (April 1952). Represents a constituency of the Department of Algiers in the French National Assembly.

6. Bonnafé, General René, O.B.E.
Officer Commanding the V^e^ Région Aérienne (Tunisia—Algeria—Morocco). At the time of the French Armistice in 1940 was serving on the staff of the Officer Commanding the French Air Forces in the Near East. He then joined a unit of the Royal Air Force, and in 1942 the Free French Forces. Was technical adviser to General Leclerc for the Air Force operations in the Fezzan and Tripolitania. Served on General de Gaulle's staff at Algiers in 1943 and became Chief of Staff in Algeria in 1945. Appointed head of the Prime Minister's Military Cabinet in 1947. Officer Commanding the Second Air Region, 1948, and transferred to his present appointment in 1950. He is a member of the French Air Council, a Commander of the Legion of Honour, and holds numerous French and foreign decorations. General Bonnafé is married, and he and his wife are popular in social circles at Algiers and frequently entertain in their attractive official residence. Both are very pro-British. He is an intimate friend of Prince Aly Khan, whose acquaintance he made during the war.

7. Borgeaud, Henri
Senator for the Department of Algiers and President of the Rassemblement de la Gauche Républicaine. Is a landowner, wine-grower and businessman of considerable means. Presented Algiers with its first blood plasma laboratory.

8. Bouakouir, Salah
Directeur du Commerce, de l'Energie et de l'Industrie, Algerian Government General. Highest ranking Moslem on Governor-General's staff.

9. Bouhali, Larbi
Secretary of the Algerian Communist Party. Was sentenced in July 1952 to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 600,000 francs for plotting against the internal security of the State. Sentenced again in 1953.

10. Boumendjel, Ahmed
Born about 1902. Native barrister. Member of the U.D.M.A. Nationalist Party; occasionally writes articles for *La République Algérienne*.

11. Callies, General Jean
Officer Commanding the X^e^ Région Militaire Algeria). Aged 55 years. Born in Brittany. Entered Saint Cyr in 1914. Served in the Great War. Was wounded at Verdun in 1916, promoted captain and made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour at the age of 20. Subsequently served in Syria and Morocco. Chief of Staff of the 20th Division in September 1929, promoted Lieut.-Colonel, March 1940, and took part in the fighting in Luxembourg in May 1940. After the French collapse was sent again, at his request, to Morocco where he commanded and re-organised the 8th Régiment de Tirailleurs Marocains until his promotion to colonel in June 1942. Headed the French delegation to the German Armistice Commission at Casablanca, and gave up this appointment when the Allies landed in North Africa on 8th November, 1942.

He was then entrusted with the task of training young officers in North Africa for the Army of Liberation. Served with distinction in the Italian campaign where he finished with the rank of brigadier. Later commanded the First Infantry Division in the First French Army, which landed in the south of France and fought through to the Danube. Was for a time Governor of the Saar, and promoted Général de Division in December 1945. Assumed his present command in Algeria in May 1950. General Callies is an active and able soldier, he is affable but cannot always conceal his bias against Britain, which appears to derive from professional jealousy.

12. Chatoney, The Reverend A.
President of the Reformed Church of France in Algeria.

13. Chevallier, Jacques
Born about 1912. Belongs to an old French family established in Algeria for the past 80 years. Holds a degree in law from Algiers University. Mayor of El Biar, a suburb of Algiers, April 1941, at the age of 29. Was held in high esteem by General Weygand and appointed a member of the old Financial Assembly of Algeria. Volunteered for service with the French Army in Italy but was recalled and appointed principal liaison officer to the French counter-espionage services in the United States and Canada. Has been a delegate to the Algerian Assembly since February 1951, and a deputy to the National Assembly since January 1952. Is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour and holds the Croix de Guerre.

M. Chevallier's political career has been very varied. Though a firm believer in the French presence in Algeria he has at times been very liberal in his attitude to the Nationalist. He was elected Mayor of Algiers in May 1953. A spontaneous, open and likeable character. He is very friendly and speaks excellent English. His mother is a member of an old French family long resident in Louisiana.

14. Cuttoli, Maurice
The Secretary-General. Born 1905 at Bône, Algeria. Bachelor of Laws. After practising as a barrister at the Court of Appeal of Algiers, entered the French Civil Service in 1929, and in 1934 was Sous-Préfet in the Department of Aube. In 1936 and again in 1938 was Deputy Chef de Cabinet to the Under-Secretary of the Interior. Sous-Préfet of Mamers and Boulogne, 1940. Préfet of the Department of Aube, 1942, when he is understood to have played an important part in the Resistance Movement. Préfet of the Somme Department after the liberation of Oran (Algeria) in 1947, and of the Department of Oise, 1949. Was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour for services rendered during the war. Assumed office as Secretary-General of the Government of Algeria, December 1951. M. Cuttoli is married and both he and his wife are pro-British and most friendly. Officier de La Légion d'Honneur November 1952.

15. D'Avezac de Moran, André
Born about 1917. Manager of the local branch of Worms & Cie., the well-known shipping firm, and is Honorary Consul for Austria. Married. Both he and his wife are very friendly.

16. de Nouvion, Vicomte G.
Born about 1902. Local manager of the Swedish Match Corporation. Active and frequently away on business in various countries. Does not indulge in politics. Speaks fluent English. His wife, who is Swedish, is prominent in local society. They are a wealthy couple and very friendly.

17. de Serigny, Vicomte Alain
Born about 1907. Delegate to the Algerian Assembly of which he was elected Third Vice-President in May 1953, and manager of *L'Echo d'Alger*, now reported sold to M. Georges Blachette (*q.v.*). Combines with his journalistic profession considerable political activities in which he is definitely Right-wing. His wife is a daughter of M. Torp, Honorary Consul-General for Norway. Both M. and Mme de Serigny speak English.

18. Drouhin, Georges
Director of the Services de l'Hydraulique at Algiers.

19. Duroux, Jean
Born about 1907. Son of the late Senator, Jacques Duroux. Whilst not engaged in active politics, is energetic in pulling strings behind the scenes. Owner of *L'Echo d'Alger*, " Cargos Algériens," flour mills and large estates. His wife, who is a daughter of the Norwegian Consul-General, is the sister-in-law of M. Alain de Serigny (*q.v.*).

20. Eisenbeth, Maurice
Grand Rabbi of Algiers. Is an Officer of the Legion of Honour.

21. Fares, Abderrahmane
Born 1911 at Constantine, Algeria. Was first Moslem admitted to practise as Notary in Algeria. Elected president of the Algerian Assembly in May 1953 having been previously president of its Finance Committee. Is a firm believer in Moslem co-operation with the French and in the possibility of a synthesis of the two cultures. Is an able president and commands the respect of delegates to both colleges Is married and lives as a European. Is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour.

22. Ferhat, Belkacem, The Bachaga
Third Vice-President (1952–53). Born about 1873. Belongs to an old noble Moslem family. Served with the French forces in the Great War, holds the Croix de Guerre and is a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour. Member of the Conseil Superieur of Algeria.

23. Flinois Marcel
Born 1900 at Saida (Algeria). Studied law at Algiers University and was called to the Bar. Served in the last war, is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and holds the Croix de Guerre. Was a member of the old Financial Assembly and since 1948 has been delegate to the Algerian Assembly, in which he has served successively as Rapporteur-Général of the Budget, President of the Finance Committee, and, in 1950–51, as President of the Assembly.

24. Gazagne, René
Mayor of Algiers. Born about 1892. (King's Medal for Courage.)
Was Préfet of the Département des Landes and rendered considerable service to British interests as a member of the French Resistance during the war, for which he was awarded the King's Medal for Courage in the Cause of Freedom in 1951. Some time Secretary-General of the Government of Algeria from 1948 until 1953.

25. Geli, Rear-Admiral
Assumed command at Oran of the Marine en Algérie on April 10, 1952.

26. Germain, Henry
Senior member of a family of important landowners and wine producers. Creator of the first regular air line in North Africa, now a part of Air France.

27. Guellati, Ali
A Moslem. Member of the Algerian Assembly. President of the Commission de l'Economie de l'Union Française. Vice-President Union Algérienne des Sociétés Indigenes de Prévoyance. Conseiller du Commerce Extérieure de la France. Administrateur de la Banque de l'Algérie et de Tunisie at Paris. Has considerable influence at Paris as advocate for the small Moslem agriculturalist.

28. Guiauchain, Jacques
One of the owners of the Hôtel St. George, of which he obtained control in 1952. Is an architect by profession, and was designer of the Government-General building.

29. Guiauchain, Pierre
Owner, together with his younger brother Jacques (*q.v.*) and his sister, of the Hôtel St. George. Was also actively engaged in various business interests and was chairman of the Algiers Employers' Association until his health broke down early in 1952. The two Guiauchains had a British mother and are very pro-British.

30. Harbi, Haoues
Born 1901. Moslem landowner and farmer. Delegate to the Algerian Assembly for a constituency in the Department of Constantine. Was Second Vice-President of the Assembly, 1951–52.

31. Ibazizen, Maître
Moslem barrister. Frequently takes up cases on behalf of Nationalists.

32. Imbert, Dr. Marc
Very pro-British. Invariably arranges hockey matches when Her Majesty's ships visit Algiers. Has flown his hockey team to Malta and Gibraltar for return matches.

33. Justrabo, René
Born about 1917 at Mascara (Algeria). Communist delegate for a constituency of Oran to the Algerian Assembly. Was Mayor of Sidi-bel-Abbès until March 1953 when he and the town councillors were removed from office for corrupt administration.

34. Laquière, Raymond
Born in 1881 at Saint Eugène, suburb of Algiers. Belongs to an old Algerian family with a distinguished military record. Studied law at Algiers University. Admitted to Algiers Bar. Entered politics about 1920, when he was elected Counsellor of the Department of Algiers and Mayor of Saint Eugène. Was Deputy for Algiers, 1928–32. Elected delegate to the Algerian Assembly when it was formed in 1948 and became its first President. Holds the Croix de Guerre for distinguished service in the Great War, and is an Officer of the Legion of Honour. Was again President of the Algerian Assembly for the year 1952–53 and was re-elected Mayor of St. Eugène in May 1953. Is liked and respected by most delegates. He is a shrewd politician, an able orator and a firm partisan of the French position in Algeria, but always ready to fight the central authorities in the interests of Algeria.

35. Lardin, General Jean
Général de Brigade. General Officer Commanding the 21st Infantry Division of Algeria (D.I.A.), November 1952. Former General Officer Commanding Division of Algiers (February/November 1952). Commander of the Legion of Honour. Croix de Guerre, Médaille de la Résistance. A bachelor: well disposed to us.

36. Lavaysse, Paul
Secretary-General of the Prefecture, Algiers.
Born about 1897. Served in the Great War after which he entered Prefectorial Service. Deputy Chef de Cabinet to the Governor-General in 1940. Is now in charge of Administration at the Prefecture. Is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Married.

37. Lecornu, Bernard
Préfet of Constantine. Born about 1910. Entered the French Home Civil Service in 1933 and served in various posts in France as Chef de Cabinet to the Préfet and as Sous-Préfet. Sous-Préfet of St. Nazaire, 1942, and Préfet of the Department of Correze in 1943. Was closely linked with the Resistance Movement and finally relieved of his duties by the Vichy Government, when he went underground until the arrival of the Allied armies. Was subsequently appointed Préfet of the Hautes Alpes, then of the Doubs Department, and, finally, of Constantine in December 1951. Holds the Médaille de la Résistance, and is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour.

38. Lefevre-Paul, Maître Jules
A leading member of the Algiers Bar and former *Batonnier*. Was some time legal adviser to Her Majesty's Consulate-General.

39. Léhuraux, Colonel Léon
Born 29th December, 1885. Member of Algerian Assembly. Former Mehariste officer. Grand Prix Littéraire de l'Algérie. Former Directeur of the Southern Territories, Algerian Government-General. An authority on things Saharan. Commander of the Legion of Honour. Croix de Guerre (1914–18). Médaille Coloniale. Médaille Militaire Egyptienne.

40. Léonard, Roger
The Governor-General. Born 1899 at Bordeaux. Master of Arts, Bachelor of Laws. Served in the Great War. Entered the French Civil Service as Chef de Cabinet of the Préfet of the Department of Gironde in 1921. In July 1940 was relieved of his duties as Directeur du Contentieux de la Justice Militaire for not having carried out certain instructions from the Vichy Government. Played an important part in the Resistance Movement. After the war was appointed Préfet of the Department of Seine-et-Oise, and, in May 1947, Préfet de Police of Paris. Is a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour and holds the Croix de Guerre, 1939–45. Assumed office as Governor-General of Algeria, May 1951.
M. Léonard is married. He is slightly incapacitated by deafness. Has a keen and precise mind and is very friendly to us. His speeches, though very sound, are rather drily delivered. He is thought to be desirous of relinquishing his appointment at Algiers as he finds the social and representational aspects of it too onerous.

41. Leroy, General Gustave
Born 24th December, 1905, at Dinan (France). Appointed Air Officer Commander-in-Chief, Algeria, in August 1952. Officer of the Legion of Honour. Friendly and co-operative.

42. Leynaud, Mgr. Augustin
Born about 1867. Roman Catholic Archbishop of Algiers. A venerable and kindly prelate, respected by everyone. Is pro-British and showed his feeling by sending a representative to the Memorial Service at the English Church for His late Majesty, King George VI.

43. Mandon, Raoul
Second Vice-President (1952–53). Born about 1888. Engineer by profession. Wounded in the Great War. Holds the Military Medal and the Croix de Guerre, and is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Delegate to the Algerian Assembly for the City of Constantine. Was Third Vice-President, 1951–52.

44. Mathiot, André
Born about 1907. Wealthy and prominent in Algiers society; mainly interested in horses and racing. Is president of the Société des Concours Hippiques d'Alger.

45. Mesbah Salah, Maître
First Vice-President (1952–53). Born 1913 at Gueuzet (Algeria) of an old Moslem family of magistrates in the district of Sétif. Studied at Algiers and at the University of Toulouse. Was Second Vice-President of the Assembly in 1949–50, and is rapporteur of the Committee on the Moslem Cult. Is *Batonnier* of the Sétif Bar.

46. Messali, Hadj
Born about 1898 at Tlemcen (Algeria). Served in the army during the Great War, after which he remained in France, working and studying at the Paris School for Oriental Languages and at the Sorbonne. Later frequented revolutionary circles, and after working for a short time with the Communist Party, decided to leave it and concentrate on the "liberation" of Moslem nationals in Algeria. From 1929-34 his subversive activities led several times to his arrest and imprisonment by the French authorities. In March 1937 a group of Algerian Moslems in France founded the Parti du Peuple Algérien (P.P.A.), of which Messali was elected president. The party's work took him back to Algeria, for which he demanded dominion status and a freely elected Parliament. He was arrested in August 1937 at Algiers and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. In August 1939 Messali was released from prison but was again arrested and detained until March 1941, when a military court sentenced him to 16 years hard labour. He was subsequently pardoned in 1943 by General Giraud. Since then the continual agitation for Algerian independence by Messali and his party have proved a source of anxiety to the French Government. The P.P.A. gradually became the M.T.L.D. (Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Democratiques) of which Messali is the recognised leader, being looked upon by his followers as a kind of prophet. In April 1952 he was banned from the Department of Constantine for holding meetings in the eastern part of Algeria, and particularly in centres near the Algerian-Tunisian border. He was kept for a few days under house arrest at his residence near Algiers. On 14th May disturbances broke out at Orléansville, when the police attempted to disperse a crowd of Messali's followers who had gathered to welcome him, and four demonstrators were killed. The same afternoon the Governor-General signed a paper expelling Messali Hahj from the three Departments of Algeria and the Southern Territories. Messali was immediately taken under escort by air to France and accommodated at the Hôtel Terminus at Niort, in the Deux-Sèvres Department, where he has been ordered to remain.

47. Meynier, General O.
Retired. A leading personality in Algiers. President of the association known as Les Amis du Sahara, and of the Comité d'Organisation du Rallye Mediterannée/Le Cap.

48. Mezerna, Ahmed
Chairman of the M.T.L.D. Nationalist Party and editor of *L'Algérie Libre*.

49. Nabal, Colonel Albert
Secretary of the association Les Amis du Sahara. Is very pro-British and always willing to help British trans-Sahara travellers.

50. Perony, Yves
Préfet of Oran. Assumed his present office, October 1951.

51. Perrier, Raoul
Born about 1907. Managing director of *La Depêche Quotidienne* of Algiers.

52. Racim, Mohammed
Born Algiers on 24th June, 1896. Moslem miniaturist. Cross of the Legion of Honour (1947). Has exhibited in Paris, London, Rome, Vienna, Bucharest, Oslo, Cairo, Stockholm, Copenhagen and Tunis. Married. Wife is Scandinavian. Very friendly. Is inclined to be given the cold shoulder by French officialdom as he represents the antithesis of the present policy of latinisation.

53. Ribère, Marcel
Educated at Constantine and Algiers University. Doctor of Pharmacy. Served in the last war, is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and holds the Croix de Guerre and the Distinguished Service Cross. Represents a constituency of the Department of Algiers in the French National Assembly.

54. Rigollet, Léon
Vice-President of the Algiers Chamber of Commerce. A member of various committees dealing with maritime and land transport. Formerly Honorary Polish Consul at Algiers. Croix de Guerre. Officer of the Legion of Honour (1952).

55. Roche, Tony
Secretary-General of the Prefecture, Algiers.
Born 1914. Was in the teaching profession before the war and was appointed in November 1944, Sous-Préfet at Châteaudun. Appointed Secretary-General of the Prefecture in August 1949. Transferred in April 1952 to Algiers, where he is in charge of security, police and visa questions at the Prefecture. Holds the Croix de Guerre and is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour (military). Speaks good English and has visited the United Kingdom. Married.

56. Rogues, André-Jean
Deputy Secretary-General. Born 1903. He served throughout his career in the Prefectorial Service. Was some time Préfet of the Department of Lozère. Assumed his present office in 1950.

57. Saiah Abdelkader
Born 1889 at Orléansville (Algeria). Member of an old Algerian (Moslem) family established in the Orléansville district for the past five centuries. His grandfather, Saiah Si Henni, was supporter of the French occupation from the beginning, and co-operated with Marshal Bugeaud. Saiah Abdelkader played a leading part in municipal and departmental administration, and was financial delegate to the Government-General. Officer of the Legion of Honour, 1920. Counsellor of the Republic, 1946. Delegate to the Algerian Assembly since 1948, when he was elected Vice-President President of the Assembly, 1949–50, and again in 1951–52 Is pro-French and held in high esteem by the French authorities, and for that reason looked upon by extremists as a French puppet

58. Sala, Vice-Admiral Antoine, C.B.E., D.S.O.
Senior Naval Officer in Algeria and Commander-in-Chief of French Naval Forces in the Mediterranean.
Born 1898. Entered the French Naval College in 1916. As capitaine de vaisseau was head of the French Naval Mission in the United Kingdom in 1943. Promoted to Rear-Admiral and appointed Naval Attaché in London, 1944. Commanded a Cruiser Squadron in 1949. Promoted Vice-Admiral. Appointed Naval Commander-in-Chief in Morocco and later Préfet Maritime at Toulon, which post he occupied immediately before his appointment to Algiers at the end of 1951. Admiral Sala is obviously an able officer. He has tact and a pleasant manner. He is married and both he and Mme. Sala, who have spent a total of nine years in London, speak fluent English and are very pro-British. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief of French Naval Forces in the Mediterranean in 1952. He is on terms of personal friendship with Admiral Lord Mountbatten. He was promoted to the rank of Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour in April 1952.

59. Schiaffino, Laurent
Born about 1907. Wealthiest shipowner in Algeria. Owner of the Schiaffino Line, with many other interests centred around the port of Algiers. President of the Chamber of Commerce of Algiers and of the Région Economique (federation of the Chambers of Commerce of Algeria).

60. Seiberras, Georges
Owner of the largest cinema circuit in French North Africa. Pro-British and very helpful.

61. Sorensen, Christian, O.B.E.
A leading member of a French family of Scandinavian descent established in Algiers and a partner in,

the prominent wine firm of P. Sorensen & Cie. Played an important part in the Resistance Movement and was at least once parachuted into France. His wife is an American citizen.

62. Sportisse, Mme. Alice
Communist deputy for the Department of Oran to the French National Assembly.

63. Tamzali, Mustapha
Born at Bougie (Algeria), July 1885. One of the wealthiest Moslem industrialists, exporters (chiefly olive oil) and property owners in Algiers. Has long-standing business connexions with the United Kingdom. Is Honorary Treasurer of the Algiers Chamber of Commerce. Loyal to régime but professes dissatisfaction at slow pace of moslemisation of public services.

64. Tiar Mohammed
An important Moslem industrialist at Algiers.

65. Térmeaud, Andre
Préfet of Algiers. Born 1903 at Gex. After taking his degree at the Ecole des Sciences Politiques, entered the French Home Civil Service in 1932. Served in various posts, assisted in the Resistance Movement during the war, and managed to elude the Gestapo, being Sous-Préfet of Saumur at the time of the Liberation. Was appointed Préfet of the Department of Vienne in October 1944, and subsequently Préfet of the Departments of Haute Vienne (1947) and Loiret (1949). Appointed Préfet at Algiers at the end of December 1951. M. Trémeaud, who is married, is pro-British and has visited the United Kingdom. Is an Officer of the Legion of Honour.

66. Urbani, Henri
Deputy Secretary-General for Economic Affairs.
Born 1902. A former barrister at the Court of Appeal, after which he entered Government Service. Discharges his heavy duties, which involve considerable contact with the Algerian Assembly, with tact and ability, and is generally liked. Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Married.

CHAPTER V.—TUNISIA

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JF 1041/5 No. 30

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR ON JANUARY 9, 1953

Position in French North Africa

Mr. Eden to Sir O. Harvey (Paris)

(No. 28. Confidential) *Foreign Office, January 9, 1953.*

Sir,

During the course of my conversation with the French Ambassador to-day, we spoke about French North Africa.

M. Massigli said that the position had quietened remarkably and that the Bey had accepted a number of propositions which he had always opposed in the past.

In fact the measure of improvement was a measure of U.N.O.'s present inability to interfere.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador in Washington, Her Majesty's Consuls-General in Rabat and Tunis and to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations, New York.

I am, &c.
ANTHONY EDEN.

JF 1013/2 No. 31

TUNISIA: POLITICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS

1st November, 1952–31st January, 1953

Mr. Consul-General Calvert to Mr. Eden. (*Received 18th February*)

(No. 12. Restricted) *Tunis, 10th February, 1953.*

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political review of events in Tunisia for the three months ended 31st January, 1953.

2. Copies of this despatch and enclosure are being sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador, Paris and to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Algiers, Tetuan, Tangier and Rabat.

I have, &c.
A. S. CALVERT.

Enclosure in No. 31

Political review of events in Tunisia No. 1 for the period 1st November, 1952, to 31st January, 1953

General

The period under review opened with the Tunisian question before the United Nations at New York, where on 10th November M. Robert Schuman in an address to the General Assembly gave a detailed review of the French Government's

policy towards their North African Protectorates and explained their attitude towards the United Nations' intervention in these matters. It will be recalled that a month earlier M. Pinay's Government had declared their attitude to be (*a*) opposition to the inscription of these French North African questions on the United Nations agenda, and (*b*) denial of the right of the United Nations to interfere in Protectorate affairs. The subsequent proceedings at New York may be briefly traced here, for the sake of completeness. After M. Schuman's appearance before the United Nations the French delegation withdrew from participation in all further proceedings over French North Africa. The Arabo-Asiatic States put forward their resolution on Tunisia, which failed to gain acceptance, and in its place a South American resolution in relatively innocuous terms (to which the Arabo-Asiatic States nevertheless gave their support) was then discussed and adopted. This resolution the French were unable to accept as it embodied references to the Charter of the United Nations which conflicted in principle with their attitude on United Nations competence.

French Administration policy, proposals for Constitutional reform

2. In Tunisia the political scene, particularly in the last two months of 1952, saw some important developments and some moments of acute crisis. Relations between the Resident-General and the Palace became seriously disturbed in the second half of December. At an audience on 15th December, when M. de Hauteclocque discussed the proposed reforms, the Bey agreed, according to the French account, to seal the two decrees relating to municipal reforms and caidal councils. Unfortunately, His Highness changed his mind within a few hours of the interview and an exacerbated Resident-General, who declared that the Bey had given his word of honour to seal the decrees, left at once by air for Paris to report to his Government. In the meantime the Bey in a letter to President Auriol informed him of his inability to seal the decrees, but agreed to a resumption of discussions on the reforms. M. de Hautecloque returned during the night of 19th–20th December by special plane with the French Government's message to the Bey. This was presented on the morning of the 20th by the Minister-Plenipotentiary, M. de Boisseson, when the Bey, fearful of stern measures by the French should he persist in his refusal, sealed the two decrees without further demur and, moreover, agreed to seal a number of other decrees on administrative matters that had been held up by him for some considerable time. Since that date relations between the Residency and the Palace have been far from easy and from 15th December there have been no visits by M. de Hauteclocque to the Bey.

3. The month of January passed more quietly. No further discussions on reforms were contemplated for the moment. It was gathered from the Residency that preparations for municipal elections would occupy the next two or three months, the elections themselves would probably be held in late March or April and until they were over it was unlikely that the Franco-Tunisian dialogue would be resumed. The change of Government in Paris necessarily contributed to the calm in political affairs locally and the Resident-General was away from the Regency from 15th to 28th January, consulting the members of the new Mayer Government, especially M. Bidault, who had replaced M. Schuman at the Quai d'Orsay.

4. The increase in the campaign of sabotage and terrorism at the end of October reported in the last political review, continued in November, with some evidence of a slight increase in tension in the public mind. There were almost daily bomb outrages, particularly in Tunis, and a number of serious ambushes of unarmed military parties in the South of the Protectorate. One of these, coupled with a growing impatience with the slowness of judicial processes in dealing with terrorists arrested as long ago as the first outrages of January 1952, led the Resident-General to leave suddenly for Paris on 4th December to press for measures to speed up the trial of prisoners. It was the following morning that all sections of public opinion were shocked by news of the assassination of Farhat Hached, secretary-general of the U.G.T.T. and a prominent Nationalist leader. The Resident-General returned at once from Paris, a curfew in Tunis and suburbs was imposed and some ten leading Nationalists and U.G.T.T. officials were arrested and removed into detention in the South. A two-day general strike, called by the U.G.T.T., passed off without serious incident and the curfew was lifted on the 9th. In the following weeks there were fewer incidents, and, indeed, over Christmas and the New Year an almost complete calm prevailed only to be broken on 15th January, the anniversary of the arrest of Me. Habib Bourguiba and the first outbreaks of violence of twelve months ago, when for some days there was a series of bomb outrages in Tunis with regrettably some loss of life.

5. The proceedings of the United Nations over the Tunisian and Moroccan questions were followed, as was reported in the last political review, from the beginning with the closest attention in all sections of opinion, although the official censorship prevented the vernacular press from offering much independent comment. The Palace took the step, however, without prior consultation with the French authorities, of publishing, on the morrow of M. Schuman's address to the General Assembly, the texts of the Bey's letter of 9th September to President Auriol, and its enclosed report of the "Council of Forty," rejecting the reforms. These documents had until then remained confidential, as had President Auriol's letter of acknowledgement, and were given to the press in order to counter as far as possible the effect of M. Schuman's speech. The French Government themselves, annoyed at the liberty taken by the Palace, at once rejoined by publishing the text of President Auriol's letter.

6. As regards the reforms, the intention of the French Administration, according to Residency spokesmen, was to await the end of the United Nations proceedings before taking up the question again with the Tunisian Government. M. de Hauteclocque, however, visited the Bey on 29th November to hand to him the reply of the French Government to his letter of 9th September. In the reply (the contents of which were shortly afterwards made public) M. Schuman requested the Bey to indicate in prompt and unambiguous form his desire to settle the questions still outstanding and took the opportunity to correct at some length the more inaccurate and tendentious statements in the Bey's letter. The French communication was firm in tone, rejecting the report of the Bey's "Council of Forty" and requesting to be informed whether His Highness would agree to a renewal of negotiations either direct or through a Mixed Commission. The door was therefore left open, but the letter was regarded by the local press as confronting the Bey squarely with his responsibilities.

7. The Prime Minister, M. Salaheddine Baccouche, remained in office during the three months under review. He played a very minor rôle in the differences between the Resident-General and the Bey, and on the whole was of little political significance.

Relations between local political parties and leaders, and French Administration

8. The deterioration in relations between the Resident-General and the Bey has already been noticed. These were previously far from harmonious (Political Review No. 4, paragraph 8), but have now become more distant. The French difficulty, they would assert, in dealing with a ruler so completely under the influence of his Palace advisers was exemplified in the exchanges that led to the sealing of the reform decrees. The capitulation of the Bey was due to fear of strong action by the French—the formation of a Council of Regency, perhaps even of his own removal from the throne, and possibly of security measures against the person of his eldest son, Prince Chadly. His Highness's compliance with French demands was followed by widespread allegations of French strong-arm methods, assertions that the Bey was presented with what amounted to an ultimatum, that he sealed under duress. The reactions of Nationalists were various. Extremists were inclined, according to Residency sources, to be very anti-Palace, to favour a resumption of the campaign of violence, to press for further agitation through the Arab League and for a renewed appeal to the United Nations. Moderates, on the other hand, felt let down by the League, disappointed in the United Nations, disinclined for further activity for the time being and prepared to agree that the Bey had no alternative but to yield to the strong pressure brought to bear by the French. It may be worth recording that the local press gave considerable prominence to the visit of Prince Azzedine Bey du Camp (the next in succession to the Beylical throne) to the Resident-General on 1st January and to the latter's return call a few days later. Such visits were regular events before the war but have not taken place since. The Residency professed to see no significance in the visits. The initiative came from the Bey du Camp, a self-proclaimed Francophil whose personal relations with the Bey are strained.

9. The result of the deliberations of the United Nations delighted the French elements in the Regency but came, according to the Residency, as a keen disappointment to the Neo-Destour party. There can

be little doubt that for many Nationalists this was true although the party's Third Political Bureau in manifestos of 17th and 21st December expressed satisfaction over the United Nations resolution for the reasons that (*a*) the competence of the United Nations to deal with the Tunisian question was therein "formally consecrated," and that (*b*) the right of Tunisians to self-administration was affirmed. The second manifesto, after maintaining that the Bey had been presented with an ultimatum and had sealed the decrees under pressure, declared that the Neo-Destour would repudiate any agreement reached in future without their participation.

10. The murder of Farhat Hached was clearly a carefully-planned and brutal attack on the trade union politician, who was waylaid in the early morning on his way by car to his office. Perhaps because of its brutality it came as a profound shock to opinion on all sides. It was, however, followed by remarkably little Nationalist manifestation in the Regency. The two-day strike, called by the U.G.T.T., was only partially observed and passed off without serious incident. Security measures taken by the authorities and the *éloignement* of the ten Neo-Destour and U.G.T.T. leaders probably helped to ensure a situation of relative tranquillity. Among the Neo-Destourians arrested was Dr. Sadok Mokaddem, one of the influential members of the Palace clique, and a prominent U.G.T.T. official was Mahmoud Messadi, who succeeded Farhat Hached as secretary-general of the union immediately after the assassination.

11. The identity and motives of the murderers, of whom there appeared the scantiest traces, were the subject of speculation in press and public. By some, Nationalists were held guilty, for reasons of the bitter feuds and jealousy within their own ranks. Some believed Communists responsible, impelled by the hope of influencing United Nations proceedings and embarrassing the French. Others suspected the Palace, on account of the alleged truculent attitude of Farhat Hached towards the Bey in recent days, whilst many did not hesitate to pin the crime on extremist French elements in the Protectorate. The Residency strongly contested this charge, Her Majesty's Consul-General himself being informed that there was no shred of evidence to connect the French with the murder. Investigations into the crime were pursued with vigour but without success and the criminals remain as yet undiscovered.

12. The campaign of violence, to which reference has been made above, continued with some intervals of calm throughout the three months under review, though with little increase of tempo. In November the fact that many Tunisians, some of them leading Nationalists, were the victims of bomb outrages excited public opinion. The residences of at least eight of the Bey's Council of Forty were damaged by bomb explosions during this time, so that not perhaps surprisingly the outrages were in many quarters attributed to bands of French *colons*, or *commandos corses*, organised to reply in kind to Nationalist terrorism. Official spokesmen ridiculed the rumours and no evidence has yet been produced in support.

13. In November the French authorities in the Regency expressed anxiety at reports they had received that Tunisian terrorists were being trained in commando warfare at a clandestine training centre in Tripolitania near the Idriss airport. Serious ambushes of groups of unarmed French soldiers in the Gabès area, with some loss of life to the military, were linked by the Resident-General, in conversation with Sir Anthony Rumbold (at the time on a visit to Tunis) and Her Majesty's Consul-General, with this alleged training centre in Tripolitania and M. de Hauteclocque asked that the reports be brought to the notice of the British authorities. From subsequent enquiries in Tripolitania it did not appear that there was any substance in the reports.

French North Africa

14. The proceedings at New York, where the Moroccan question equally with the Tunisian, was brought before the United Nations by the Arabo-Asiatic States, created a constant interest here in the affairs of the Moroccan Protectorate. The serious disorders at Casablanca, which began in a demonstration of sympathy over the murder of Farhat Hached, were prominently and exhaustively reported in the local press. There was little special reference to Algerian affairs during the period under review.

Britain and the Commonwealth

15. The action of Her Majesty's Government in supporting the French Government over the Tunisian question at the United Nations, which in the last political review (paragraph 19) was noticed as having been received with gratification by French opinion and disappointment by the Nationalists, continued to be the subject of pleasurable comment by the French.

16. The local press have shown much interest in the preparations now going on in London for the coronation of the Queen, both in frequent articles and photographs.

17. Generally, there has been steady interest, if little special comment, in Tunis newspapers on Britain's dealings with Iran and Egypt, with the difficulties confronting the British authorities in Kenya and the racial problems in South Africa.

Labour and Trade Unions

18. The murder of Farhat Hached, and the consequences, including the two-day general strike called by the U.G.T.T., have been dealt with earlier in this report. The arrest and deportation to the South of five leading union officials, one of whom, Mahmoud Messadi, was the chosen successor to Farhat Hached as secretary-general, no doubt acted as a damper on union activities. At the end of December a delegation of two members of the *Confédération Internationale des Syndicats Libres* (C.I.S.L.), MM. de Keyser and Vermeulin, paid a short visit to Tunisia to enquire into the trade union position in the Regency. They visited the widow of Farhat Hached, were received by the Resident-General and by arrangement with the Residency (and in company with a Residency official) were able to travel south to meet Messadi at Gabès.

10th February, 1953.

JF 1013/6 No. 32

POLITICAL REVIEW, FEBRUARY–APRIL 1953

Mr. Consul-General Calvert to Mr. Eden. (*Received May 18*)

(No. 31. Restricted) *Tunis, May 12, 1953.*

General

In contrast to the period covered by Tunis Political Review No. 1, the three months of February, March and April 1953 passed quietly and with little development or incident of importance. In the political field the period was largely devoted to preparation for the Caïdal and Municipal elections provided for in the decrees sealed by the Bey on the 20th December, 1952 (Political Review No. 1, paragraph 2) and no further talks with Tunisian leaders were contemplated until after the elections had taken place. The security situation showed much improvement, in spite of a few serious isolated outrages, of the campaign of the Neo-Destour against the elections, and a tendency at one moment to revive the terrorist campaign to impress, it was thought, the United Nations Assembly about to resume its sessions in New York. During the period under review the annual budget of the Protectorate claimed much attention; the Resident-General paid a number of visits to provincial centres in the Regency; there was a change in the occupancy of the important post of Secretary-General to the Tunisian Government; and, amongst distinguished visitors, General Guillaume, Resident-General of Morocco, came to Tunisia for the military manœuvres at Beja, and General de Gaulle spent four days in Tunisia on his way back to France from an official tour in French Central Africa.

French Administration Policy: Proposals for Constitutional Reform

2. Preparations for the Caïdal and Municipal elections continued through a large part of the three months under review. The Caïdal elections took place first and were held on different days, according to local convenience, over the eleven-day period 10th–23rd April. The Municipal elections were fixed for the two Sundays 3rd and 10th May, some days before the onset of the Islamic month of fasting, Ramadhan. The Caïdal elections passed off quietly—657 seats filled out of a total of 705, with 48 in respect of which elections were postponed to a later date. Votes cast

represented a figure of 58·8 per cent. of registered voters, a result regarded by the French authorities as entirely satisfactory more particularly as all voters in this election were Tunisian and as this was the first election of its kind ever held in this country. The opposition of the Neo-Destour Party to both Caïdal and Municipal elections grew in strength during the period under review and took on finally the character of a campaign of menace and intimidation. The campaign was waged vigorously throughout the country, but in respect of the Caïdal elections was far from successful. In part this was, perhaps, because candidates in the country districts were frequently local notables, sometimes tribal sheikhs, and so commanded loyalties which political considerations did not much influence. The successful candidates were for the most part moderates and the Neo-Destour were, according to Residency opinion, much disappointed at the failure of their campaign. In the Municipal elections Nationalist opinion, always more strongly held and more vocal in the townships, was expected by Residency spokesmen to make its opposition seriously felt.

3. No action over the remaining sections of the proposed reforms was taken during the period under review. The Residency, in informing Her Majesty's Consul-General of their intention to await the end of the Municipal elections before making any further move, stated that the Bey had let it be known that he was quite happy about that arrangement. It was added that the remaining reforms would be taken up as a whole, but some priority would be given to measures providing for the establishment of a Financial Council. This was considered essential in order that this body should be in being to deal with and approve the second six-monthly period of the annual budget.

4. The budget for the year 1953–54, designated an "administrative" budget, was approved by the French Government in respect of the first six months of the financial year, whilst the second half of the budget was reserved for approval later in the year by the Financial Council in Tunisia which, as already mentioned, it is hoped to set up under the proposed further reforms. Total expenditure budgeted for is a little over 55 milliard of francs and receipts are estimated at 51·66 milliard. The French Government will have a deficit of about 4 milliard of francs to meet, and in notifying the Administration here of their approval, the Government called for economy in the administration of the Protectorate. In addition the long-term programme of public works will continue and the annual contribution of Metropolitan France towards this programme will this year be from 12–13 milliard of francs (see next paragraph).

5. During February and March the Resident-General paid a number of brief visits to such provincial centres as Medjez-el-Bab, Bizerta, Beja (where he was joined by General Guillaume for the military manœuvres) and later Gabès, Djerba and the Deep South. It was the opinion of the Residency that the contacts made during these tours had been most useful and satisfactory. M. de Hauteclocque, in the course of his visit to Medjez-el-Bab on the 26th February announced that Tunisia would receive this year from the *Fonds de Modernisation et d'Equipement* an allocation of 12,300,000,000 francs which sum he promised, in expressing his satisfaction, would be used in an important measure for agricultural development in the four-year plan which begins in 1953.

6. General de Gaulle, accompanied by Mme. de Gaulle and members of his staff, stayed for four days in Tunisia at the end of March on his return to France from his tour in Central Africa. He was officially received and fêted in Tunis and in Bizerta, Sfax and Gabès. Notwithstanding the official character of his journey he held long conversations with the leaders of all political parties, and when received in audience by the Bey had a *tête-à-tête* discussion with His Highness of some forty-five minutes. Local commentators were not slow to describe his activities as those more of the party chief than the official visitor, whilst some dissatisfaction by members of his own party was ventilated in the local press. One leading malcontent, a member of the National Council of the R.P.F. for some years, resigned from the party in "bitter disappointment" at the general's refusal to make a declaration condemning the Neo-Destour and its terrorist campaign.

Relations between Political Parties and Leaders, and French Administration

7. Relations between the Residency and the Palace, the deterioration of which was noticed in the last Political Review, showed little sign of improvement. Contacts between the Resident-General and the Bey were infrequent and were largely restricted to courtesy visits, as when M. de Hauteclocque accompanied General de Gaulle to the Palace. The Bey has shown little disposition as yet to adopt a more flexible attitude towards the Residency and it was understood, at the end of the period under review, that the intransigence of His Highness and his immediate family advisers is viewed by many members of the Beylical family and associates with growing dissatisfaction. Many of these princes have latterly been considerably perturbed by the fate of the Egyptian monarchy and now fear for themselves and the subventions they enjoy from the Bey's large Civil List should extremist Nationalists achieve power in Tunisia.

8. The Nationalist terrorist campaign over the period under review as a whole showed a considerable decline. In February there was at one time a renewal of bomb outrages, chiefly in Tunis, thought by some to be designed to influence the United Nations, then about to reassemble at New York, although of course the Tunisian question had been already disposed of by that international body. The subsequent falling off in the number of incidents may perhaps have been due in part to the success of the police in arresting a number of leading terrorists, but towards the end of April the Neo-Destour's opposition to the Caïdal and Municipal elections developed into a violent campaign of menace and intimidation. Different and more direct methods were used with the assassination or attempted assassination of some leading Tunisians, who were prepared to take part in the elections. Maitre Tayeb Ghachem, brother of the Minister of Health, a prominent victim, was murdered on the 22nd April at Moknine in the Sahel and, to anticipate the next Political Review, on the 2nd May Chedly Kastally, the respected Vice-President of the Tunis Municipality, was murdered in Tunis.

9. The opposition of the Neo-Destour to the elections, in which all members of the party were forbidden to participate, was stated in the vernacular press to be based on their contention that the right of representation in the Municipal Councils conferred on French residents in the Regency was contrary to the principle of the unity of Tunisian sovereignty. The Neo-Destour maintained, moreover, that to carry through elections in a country administered under a state of military law, and with an official censorship in operation, could not be other than a farce and a mockery.

10. At the end of March, M. Raymond Pons was replaced as Secretary-General by M. Georges Dupoizat, a member of the Prefectural Service from Belfort. The position of M. Pons, a somewhat outspoken official, had been shaky for some time past. His relations recently with the Residency have been troubled and also, for what it may have been worth, he has not been well regarded at the Palace.

French North Africa

11. General Guillaume, Resident-General in Morocco and Inspector-General of the Forces in North Africa, visited Tunisia on the 15th-16th March for the purpose of attending the military manœuvres at Beja. He was entertained by M. de Hauteclocque and was received by the Bey in an audience described as cordial.

12. Press interest in Morocco and Algeria has been maintained although with less of special interest. Recent declarations by the Sultan and by the Glaoui have been prominently featured, but with little or no comment. The official censorship ensures that the vernacular press carries no opinion of interest.

Britain and the Commonwealth

13. The death of Queen Mary was the occasion of widespread marks of sympathy, official and private, and of a remarkable amount of space devoted to the bereavement of the British people in the local press.

14. Equally the preparations for the Coronation of The Queen continued to receive, both in articles and photographs, the constant attention of the newspapers here.

15. The recent severe floods along the east coast of England aroused a most remarkable outburst of public sympathy. Expressions of distress and condolence were received from all sides, official, religious and from many private sources. Gifts at once began to flow in to this Consulate-General, although entirely unsolicited and have now exceeded £500, a sum which has been passed to the Lord Mayor of London's Fund.

16. Negotiations between Great Britain and Egypt over the Sudan and the Suez Canal have been given fairly full press notice, though with little independent comment. The situation in Kenya has been regularly reported, as also has that in South Africa.

Communist Activities

17. The Central Committee of the Tunisian Communist Party telegraphed at the beginning of March to the Soviet Ambassador in Paris an expression of their concern at news of the illness of Marshal

Stalin. Condolences were later telegraphed upon the death of the Marshal.

18. It may be mentioned here that the French flag was flown at half-mast on the death of Marshal Stalin—at the Residency and on other Government buildings. This was on the first day only and possibly was due to confusion in instructions from Paris.

Labour and Trade Unions

19. A *mission d'étude* of the C.G.T.-Force Ouvière, headed by M. André Lafond arrived from Paris in the middle of February to enquire into the trade union situation in the Protectorate. They remained in this country one week, during time they were received by the Resident-General and met representatives of all organisations and parties. A meeting was arranged for them with the militant members of the U.G.T.T. now in *éloignement* at Kebili. Relations between the U.G.T.T. and the C.G.T.-Force Ouvière in particular claimed the interest of the delegation, and with the Resident-General they discussed economic and social problems.

JF 1013/10 No. 33

POLITICAL REVIEW, MAY–JULY 1953

Mr. Consul-General Dismore to Lord Salisbury. (*Received August 28*)

(No. 54. Restricted) *Tunis, August 5, 1953.*

General

Though the period under review has been marked by the assassinations of two important figures, there has been little general political reaction, and with the belated arrival of the warm weather a state of somnolence appears to have set in which, according to the prognostication of M. Grellet, head of the Cabinet of M. Jean de Hauteclocque, the Resident-General, will probably last until about the middle of October. How far one can rely upon the strict observance of this close season for active politics (which in Tunisia includes the occasional murder) is problematical. There are, in any case, no signs of any diminution in the intensity of the feud between the Palace and the family of the late heir to the Throne, Prince Azzedine Bey du Camp, though having lost the trump card of the succession the family is now relatively powerless. The new heir to the Throne, Prince Mohamed Essadok, appears not unlikely to step into the murdered prince's shoes in more senses than one, for the Residency-General are evidently continuing their policy of trying to play off the Bey du Camp against the Sovereign, and though the new incumbent has the reputation of being somewhat less francophile than his predecessor, his antipathy to the Neo-Destour will not make him any more *persona grata* with the Palace clique, headed by the Bey's eldest son, Prince Chedly, than his late brother.

2. There are, however, already signs that Essadok has to some extent yielded to Nationalist pressure, and it will be interesting to see if he is able to steer a successful course between the Scylla of the Residency-General and the Charybdis of the Neo-Destour.

Resistance to Reforms

3. Relations between the Resident-General and the Palace continue to be frigid, and the former is clearly profoundly irritated at the apparent failure of Tunisian Nationalists to realise the extent of the benefits, material and social, which France wishes to confer on the country if only she can be left alone to do it in her own way, or better still with ostensible Tunisian goodwill. By his visit to the well-advanced irrigation and hydro-electric power scheme in the Lower Medjerdah Valley on June 26, and by the ensuing copious commentaries in the press, M. de Hauteclocque tried to draw the attention of Tunisians to the nature of the benefits of French protection and engineering genius. The reception was, however, apathetic, and it would appear that Tunisians are less interested in concrete results than in the political game itself.

4. The assassination on May 2 of Chedly Kastally, second Vice-President of the Tunis

municipality, was an attempt to influence the voting at the Municipal elections and thus to destroy the value of this particular reform by reducing the poll to a derisory percentage. In Tunis itself the attempt met with some measure of success. Although, following the presentation of a message from M. Bidault by the Resident-General on the day of the murder, the Bey agreed to broadcast an expression of disapproval of acts of violence, it is said that he could not be prevailed upon to recommend Tunisians to go to the polls. Shortly afterwards Maître Hedi Nouira (Assistant Secretary-General of the Neo-Destour) M. Masmoudi (Neo-Destourian delegate in Paris), Messrs. Mohamed ben Youssef and Ali ben Youssef (brothers of a former Tunisian Minister of Justice) were arrested " in connexion with the murder of Chedly Kastally " and also with unsuccessful attempts on the lives of M. Ben Raïs (Minister of Commerce) and of a police inspector named Ayed. The last named arrested his assailant and it was afterwards given out that this man was the murderer of Kastally. On June 9 M. Masmoudi was provisionally freed and allowed to return to Paris. Twelve days later the liberation of sixty-five political *éloignés* was announced, this act being described officially as " by decision of the Resident-General in agreement with the Prime Minister of the Tunisian Government, M. Salaheddine Baccouche." On June 24 Maître Nouira was also given provisional liberty.

5. These acts of clemency appeared likely to pave the way for better relations between the Residency-General and the more reasonable elements of the Neo-Destour, for a manifesto appeared in the French metropolitan press (though not in Tunisian journals) letting it be known that they were willing to agree to a resumption of talks. This was immediately followed by a further hardening of the Palace attitude and the beginning of even more distant relations with the Residency-General. References to this impasse in an article by Jules Roy in the Paris *Match du Monde* were widely discussed here, particularly an allegation that contemptuous words uttered by the Bey about M. de Hauteclocque were going the rounds of the salons and the *souks*. It is far more likely that the words emanated from Prince Chedly, for the following description of the Bey given me by a Residency-General official appears fairly apt: " He is a man without character of any sort, good or bad; in politics he is a mere chameleon, whose views take the colour of the person who last spoke to him."

6. Prince Chedly, who has already tried unsuccessfully to get the present law of succession modified in his favour, is a sinister influence linking the headlong nationalism of the Neo-Destour extremists with the comic-opera, troopless " generals " who infest the Palace. The best of them, General Tahar Mahoui, Head of the Palace protocol, has been ill for several months and is at present recuperating in France. M. de Choiseul-Praslin, head of the Diplomatic Cabinet of the Resident-General, told me that the general's " illness " is a political malady engendered by the uneasy fence-sitting of the Bey. Certainly the conduct of Prince Chedly, who is said to have feathered his nest by black-market deals, running gaming houses and other doubtful activities, must have caused any honest official of the court much embarrassment.

The Murder of the Bey du Camp

7. If the assassination of Chedly Kastally caused widespread shock and grief, the murder of Prince Azzedine, Bey du Camp, on July 1, occasioned more astonishment than emotion, for since his attendance at the Fourteenth of July celebrations in Tunis in 1952, which earned for him the increased hatred of the Palace clique, his appearances on the public scene have been very few. The fact that Prince Sliman, his eldest son, was unsuccessfully shot at in June, was attributed to bizarre morals rather than politics, though it is possible that his assailant was a bereaved relative of one of Sliman's road victims. His inconsiderate use of a highly-powered-and-coloured American motor-car has resulted in many accidents, three of which were fatal. One of the victims was a child.

8. But Azzedine Bey himself was inoffensive to all save Chedly and the Neo-Destour, and in considering the question *cui bono?* it is hard to see who else can have benefited by his death. Of course, Mohamed Essadok, the new Bey du Camp, now finds himself comparatively affluent, though his status as an assurance risk is probably impaired. He is, however, a mild and rather timid man, interested in the sciences, and not at all likely to have been mixed up with the Neo-Destour, for whose activities he is said to have a mild distaste. Even the actual murderer, one Hedi ben Brahim ben Djebala, profited only to the extent of 2,000 francs (about £2) for he was arrested before he could draw the 250,000

francs promised him. The former trade union official Sahraoui, who is said to have organised the murder, is believed to have made good his escape to Libya owing to pique on the part of the police, who were incensed at having the conduct of the investigation taken out of their hands and transferred to the Department of Justice by the Procureur, M. Bruhnès. The police are said to have turned a blind eye to the movements of Sahraoui, who, unlike the murderer and another accomplice now in custody, is reported to have information about the real motive of the crime. On July 30 it was publicly announced that the Civil Court had declared itself incompetent to deal with the matter, and that responsibility for the investigation had been transferred from the Department of Justice to the military authorities, who lost no time in reinterrogating the two men in custody. The explanation given for this new move was that the crime has " points of similarity with other matters at present being investigated by the military authorities."

9. Even the funeral of the Bey du Camp furnished fuel for another scandal for not only did the Bey himself fail to attend it but he sent no representative. Also, and it is said on the Bey's express instructions, no Tunisian Ministers put in an appearance, and the Resident-General, learning of these intentions, decided that it would be inappropriate for him to attend in person. He was, however, represented by the Minister-Plenipotentiary, M. de Boisseson, and the route of the cortège was lined with an imposing array of French troops. The absence of the Bey caused much comment and the view most generally expressed was that His Highness had never forgiven Prince Azzedine for his attendance at the Fourteenth of July parade. This kind of talk became so common that on July 19 Prince Sliman, who had returned from France two days before, had the following declaration published in the press:—

" Following the cowardly assassination of His Highness Sidi Azzedine, Bey du Camp, it has been said in certain Tunisian circles that our father had been reproached for having attended, against the will of our august Sovereign, Sidi Lamine Bey, the celebration of the French National Fête on July 14, 1952. Thus, he who is no more is accused of having disobeyed his Sovereign and betrayed his country.

" It is our duty, for the memory of our father and out of regard for the truth, to protest against this accusation, which has no foundation of fact.

" The invitation addressed by the Resident-General to Sidi Azzedine Bey to be present at the review as the representative of His Highness the Bey, stated in fact that the Sovereign saw no objection to this invitation, and it was upon this assurance that our father went to the ceremony in order to represent His Highness the Bey in accordance with the traditional protocol of our family. Moreover, His Highness the Bey had naturally invited the Director of Protocol, General Tahar Maoui, to assist His Highness the Bey du Camp during the ceremony.

" General Tahar Maoui thus accompanied our father from Borgel to the Residency-General and from there to the official tribune, and did not leave him until his return to Borgel. Public opinion, thus enlightened, can do no other than render homage to the perfect loyalty and the extremely correct attitude of he whom we mourn."

10. The motives for the publication of this letter are obscure. It may have been done at the request of the Residency-General, who have been accused of encouraging the late Bey du Camp to defy the Bey. It may be what it purports to be, a vindication of the murdered Prince, or even an attempt under duress exercised against Sliman by Chedly and his henchmen, to deflect suspicion from the Palace by making it appear that there was no friction between the Sovereign and the Bey du Camp, and therefore no reason for wanting the latter out of the way. If this is the explanation, few people will be deceived, for it has not been denied that the Bey, while declining the invitation to attend in person, originally proposed to send Chedly as his representative. The Bey du Camp, as next in order of succession, was a more appropriate choice though, in the event, an unfortunate one for him.

Position of the Royal Family

11. In consequence of these events the attitude of the Residency-General towards the Palace has become one of ever-increasing exasperation, though officials are practically unanimous in blaming Chedly and the Bey's entourage, for the present situation. What they would like to see is a judicious purge of sinister Palace influences, and effective measures to stop Chedly's intrigues with Neo-Destour extremists. Suspicions engendered by the murder of Azzedine Bey have not improved the position of the Sovereign in the estimate of those capable of forming an opinion, though his semi-spiritual status as " possessor of the Kingdom of Tunis " still counts for much among the Moslem population.

12. When I called on the Bey in his Palace at Carthage early in July I was struck by the number of adipose, Farouk-like " generals " performing an *acte de présence*, for which most of them derive sustenance out of the Bey's civil list of 365 millions of francs per annum. The Beylical family consists of 91 princes and 142 princesses, and at the present rate of demographic progress its existence is becoming a considerable burden from which neither the country, nor the Protecting Power derives any appreciable return. The Bey himself has three sons, Chedly and Mohamed, who are both political intriguers involved with the Neo-Destour, and Salaheddine, who arduously pursues a life of pleasure. There are also nine daughters, one of whom is a divorcée, and eight married to the following (who all hold the rank of " general "); Azouz, Caid of the Tunis suburbs; Kassar, Guard of the Royal Seal; Maherzi, Caid of the Medina, or Arab quarter of Tunis; Hamadi Bahri, Assistant Head of the Protocol; Zacharia, Colonel of the Beylical Guard; Dr. Ben Salem, a former Minister; Osman Bahri, Public Works engineer; and Dr. Chelly, a surgeon. Apart from the Bey's own purse, there is a further list of 156 million francs per annum for the support of the princes and princesses, but the day is not far distant when this will become inadequate.

13. The Bey himself has not appeared in public for many months, and his functions are restricted to the weekly ceremony of kissing the royal hand and setting his seal on various decrees. Apart from the above routine his only act has been to offer a prize of 200,000 francs for the first Tunisian medical doctor to be admitted to practice in the Paris hospitals as a result of competitive examination, but this did not involve a personal appearance.

14. *Le Phare de Tunis*, a French-language newspaper which appears at irregular intervals, printed an article in July in which comparisons are drawn between the British Royal Family and the " caricature of royalty offered by certain princes whom we know well." The article was based on the colour film of the Coronation, which was shown in Tunis, and paid tribute to the service to the nation, the dignity and the high moral standards of the British Royal Family. " This," wrote the author, " is an agreeable change from the choleric, scowling physiognomy, the dissimulating oblique glance expressing the perfidious malice of a levantine dealer. It is a change from the attitude of hate and prejudice, unhealthy and insatiable appetites, ambuscades of individuals and against the good of the country, attitudes and actions the more revolting because the humiliated and despoiled victims have no legal means of defence, the levers of command being trimmed to serve the desires of those who ought to be the first to inspire respect." The article then refers to insane personal and family expenditure, and the exploitation of a people and a country for the benefit of one man and one family.

15. The ostensible author of this diatribe is Tahar Essafi, a lawyer of Moroccan origin who edits *Le Phare* and is reputed to be an opportunist. Rumour has it, however, that the article did not in fact come from his pen, but from someone in the press service of the Residency-General. However that may be, the press censorship exercised by the Residency makes it certain that the contents of the article were known and passed before it was published.

Labour and Trade Unions

16. The growing strength of the Nationalist *l'Union Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens* (U.G.T.T.) whose membership is now claimed to be over 80,000, was demonstrated on July 9 by a general meeting in Tunis to mark the return from Stockholm of the delegation to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Not only was the hall filled but a large crowd assembled in the street and had to be dispersed by the police. M. Nouri Boudali, who was recently elected a member of the executive commission of the International Confederation was detained in Brussels and could not take the chair as arranged, but other members of the delegation were present. One of the speakers, M. Sliman Zouari, delivered a thrust at the Communist-influenced *Union Syndicale des Travailleurs Tunisiens* (U.S.T.T.) when he claimed that the U.G.T.T. is the only organisation which genuinely defends the interests of the Tunisian worker and that the term " unity of action " used by the U.S.T.T. was meaningless if it did not conform to the programme of the U.G.T.T. The meeting

passed several resolutions, including: a demand for the arrest and punishment of the murderers of Farhat Hachad (please see paragraph 4 of Political Review No. 1); a claim for a 30 per cent. wage increase and the introduction of a sliding scale; and the putting in hand of large-scale public works, to combat unemployment.

Britain and the Commonwealth

17. The visit to Tunis of General Sir Kenneth Anderson, K.C.B., M.C., former Commander of the British First Army, was most warmly welcomed by the French authorities and by M. de Hauteclocque in particular. The celebrations on May 8 of the tenth anniversary of the Liberation of Tunis, at which General Anderson represented Her Majesty's Government, were appropriate and memorable, and the Resident-General wrote afterwards to Mr. Consul-General Calvert expressing his high appreciation of the visit.

18. Interest in the Coronation was widespread and the Resident-General took the initiative of organising two film shows in Tunis, one of a collection of French newsreels of the Coronation and the other of a full-length colour film. These shows were for guests invited by the Resident-General, but the film "A Queen is Crowned" was also shown commercially and attracted large audiences. A two-reel film of the event has been specially requested by the Residency for showing in schools later in the year. The celebrations of the Coronation in Tunis were described by Mr. Consul-General Calvert in his despatch No. 36 of June 15.

The Resident-General

19. Rumours of the impending departure of M. de Hauteclocque for a new post continue to be rife and when I saw him early in July he himself mentioned his possible departure. M. Couve de Murville, Ambassador to Cairo, has been mentioned as a successor and the destination of M. de Hauteclocque was rumoured to be Brazil. Now that his family have left for France on their annual leave, where they will be joined by M. de Hauteclocque about August 20, a fresh crop of rumours has arisen and Tokyo is given as his next post. A change of personalities is not likely to be beneficial, for a rapprochement with the Palace, even if possible, would not find a way out of the present impasse, and the Neo-Destour extremists are opposed to a resumption of the talks. Any occupant of the post would have to face criticism, by progressive groups in Paris, of undue harshness, and at the same time allegations of undue softness and leniency from the French "colons."

JF 1103/1 No. 34

THE SEARCH FOR OIL IN TUNISIA

Mr. Consul-General Williams to Lord Salisbury. (Received September 21)

(No. 61 E. Restricted) *Tunis,*
My Lord Marquess, *September 16, 1953.*

The economic plight of Tunisia, due mainly to its rapidly increasing population, static or even decreasing production of exportable goods, and increasing imports, has often been mentioned in the periodic economic reports compiled at this post. Little has been said, however, about possible remedies, and the authorities appear resigned to a regular budgetary deficit of several milliards of francs, to be met by Metropolitan France, until the advent of some new and powerful economic factor. The discovery of oil in sufficient quantities would very quickly put Tunisia into a solvent position, and there are indications that the prospecting work at present going on is regarded as of vital importance by the French. M. G. de Frondeville, Head of the Department of Mines, Industry and Power, may well have been echoing official feelings on the matter when he addressed the following words to the Tunisian Engineers' Federation recently:—

> "From a general viewpoint petrol is perhaps Tunisia's last chance of securing for its population an appreciable betterment of status and living conditions, for it is without doubt the only quick and effective method of bridging the widening gap between the population and the national revenue."

2. Although there are other projects on foot designed to restore some measure of balance to the country's economy, they can do little more than touch the fringe of the problem. The Four-Year Plan, by which it is hoped to endow Tunisia with modern industrial and agricultural equipment and thus step up production, is but a partial solution. The texts of new budgetary reforms published on July 21 in the *Official Journal*, though greeted with some enthusiasm by the commercial press, are in reality mere domestic economies which do not even touch the root causes of the present situation. These reforms, briefly, seek new sources of revenue and means of economy by a revision of the patents law, by taxing professional profits, stopping the recruitment of temporary public servants and waiving certain taxes in the hope of attracting foreign capital. Clearly, none of them can have any real effect upon a situation which yearly becomes graver by a net population increase of 60,000 to 70,000 and consequent steady rise in the need for the import of consumer goods, which in 1952 already reached 33 milliards of francs.

3. Another important drainage of the country's resources is the necessity for importing sources of power, such as oil products and coal. In 1952, 4·9 milliards of francs were devoted to the purchase of such materials, and it is easy to see that by the elimination of this expenditure alone, the discovery of oil in marketable quantities would bring about a marked improvement in Tunisia's economy. This effect would be enhanced in from 5 to 10 years' time when the Lower Medjerdah Valley hydro-electric schemes (referred to in Mr. Calvert's despatch No. 39 of the 2nd of July, 1953) come into full operation. It is calculated that the production of power from these schemes will mean an annual saving of U.S. $1½ million, and will satisfy about 30 per cent. of the country's needs. Tunisia must, however, seek for more than the mere satisfaction of her home requirements, and the discovery of oil appears to offer the only hope of earning new revenue abroad.

4. The geographical position of the country is favourable, for whereas Middle East oil has to be transported through long pipe lines, Tunisian oil would be within easy reach of the sea and of the big European markets and refineries. As for prospects, geological formations occur throughout the country which in numerous other parts of the world have proved productive, though this does not necessarily mean that oil, if found, will be in large quantities. In fact none has so far been found in marketable quantities, though it should be explained that from 1894 to 1931 such prospecting as was undertaken was on a small scale and with very limited resources and inefficient apparatus. In the latter year the *Syndicat d'Études et de Recherches Petrolières en Tunisie* (S.E.R.P.T.) was formed to carry on detailed geological surveys and studies, but its financial means were also restricted and it had no apparatus of its own. In 1936 the first significant discovery was made when a boring at Djebel Kébir reached a pocket of gas at 827 metres, but the complicated geological structure and lack of proper equipment prevented further research. It was not until 1938 that S.E.R.P.T. acquired modern boring apparatus, and in that year more gas at high pressure was discovered at El Haroune. The war then interrupted the work, and from 1940 to 1946 activity was restricted to certain geological studies and to one fruitless boring.

5. In December 1948, legislation was introduced which was designed to encourage research, and from that time oil prospecting in Tunisia entered upon a further phase in which the two world-wide concerns Royal Dutch Shell and Gulf Oil are participating. S.E.R.P.T. disappeared and was succeeded by the *Compagnie Française des Pétroles*, and a new Government-sponsored concern known as the *Société de Recherches et d'Exploitation des Pétroles en Tunisie* was established. The Tunisian State holds 30 per cent. of its shares, the French State (through the *Bureau de Recherches de Pétroles*) 60 per cent. and the *Cie Française des Pétroles* 10 per cent. There were also established the *Compagnie des Pétroles de Tunisie*, in which the *Société de Recherches* holds 35 per cent. of the shares and Royal Dutch Shell the rest, and the *Société Nord-Africaine des Pétroles* in which the ownership is similarly divided between the *Société de Recherches* and the Gulf Oil Corporation.

6. Results to date have not been impressive to the layman, although much has been accomplished in the field of technical research. The one oil strike by the Shell concern south of Kairouan, tapped a deposit which was not under sufficient pressure to render it commercially exploitable and the only other increasing discovery has been a pocket of natural gas near Cap Bon, estimated at 200–250 million cubic metres, which is destined to serve the town of Tunis, whose gas needs will thus be met for about 20 years. M. de Frondeville states that the search for oil, which is now going on

throughout the whole of Tunisia, is really just beginning. It will last, he thinks, for many years, and will entail an expenditure running into scores of milliards of francs. Prospecting is undertaken methodically, with powerful and efficient apparatus, and is followed up in a determined manner by teams of highly-qualified French and foreign technicians. "If oil exists in Tunisia," says M. de Frondeville, "they will know how to discover it." In view of the rapidly worsening state of Tunisia's general economy and especially of the standard of living of some of the southern tribes, it would appear to be of importance to discover it soon.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris and to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Algiers and Rabat, and to the Export Services Branch of the Board of Trade.

I have, &c.
A. M. WILLIAMS.

JF 1015/27 No. 35

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RESIDENCY AND THE BEY OF TUNIS ON THE ARRIVAL OF THE NEW RESIDENT-GENERAL, M. PIERRE VOIZARD

Mr. Consul-General Williams to Lord Salisbury. (*Received October 6*)

(No. 63. Restricted) *Tunis,*
My Lord Marquess, *October 1, 1953.*

I have the honour to report that M. Pierre Voizard arrived by air in Tunis on the 26th of September to take up his post as Resident-General in Tunisia.

2. M. de Hauteclocque, who left Tunis for Paris on the 24th of August, ostensibly for consultation with his Government, did not return to Tunis, as is customary, to take leave. He thereby avoided a situation which might have been embarrassing owing to the strained relations between the Resident-General and the Bey.

3. Before the arrival of the new Resident-General the Bey issued an apparently spontaneous appeal to all in Tunisia to abstain from acts of violence so that a more healthy atmosphere of calm might be created in which a peaceful solution of the problems of this country might more easily be found.

4. The Bey's appeal appears to have had some effect, although the rumour quickly spread, and was reported in one newspaper, that before publishing his appeal the Bey had consulted only three former Ministers of the Chenik Government, and that it was, therefore, both an indication that the Bey had no confidence in the Baccouche Government and a discourtesy to the Residency. The effect was further marred by the murder that same evening of a young Tunisian by four persons alleged to be masquerading as French soldiers. There have, however, been no further incidents since the 22nd of September.

5. M. Voizard paid his official call on the Bey and an exchange of cordial messages took place in which the Resident-General suggested that negotiations should be resumed once order had been re-established, and affirmed that France, subject always to her responsibility to the community of free nations, intended to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people of Tunisia. In his reply welcoming these sentiments the Bey suggested that perhaps in the past there had been delay in trying to find solutions to the various problems, a delay from which misunderstanding and violence had followed. He felt sure that a return to reason would bring about the re-creation of the necessary atmosphere of understanding and confidence. The Bey then invested the Resident-General with the insignia of Grand Cordon of the Order of Nichau Iftikhar.

6. In returning the Resident-General's call the Bey tactfully refrained from sending his eldest son, Prince Chedly—whose anti-French sentiments are well-known—and sent Prince Alaheddine instead.

7. The Tunisians seem anxious, if these first official contacts are any indication, to make it clear that they are prepared to do their share in creating better relations with the Residency. In pointing this out, however, the Neo Destour clandestine newssheet *Liberation* insists that all M. de Hauteclocque's advisers must go, that political prisoners must be liberated and the murderers of Farhat Hached and Hedi Chaker must be found and punished: it goes on to threaten serious consequences if the French are not sincere in their efforts to find a real solution to the Tunisian problem now.

8. The French officials and colons may be wondering whether M. Voizard will prove as stout a defender of French interests as M. de Hauteclocque, and I have heard little comment on the change and still less enthusiasm for it.

9. As his first move the new Resident-General has launched an attack on the cost of living and has been able to obtain the co-operation of a number of local merchants in reducing retail food prices. Whether this move will have any real success remains to be seen.

10. I attach brief notes on the new Resident-General and on the senior members of his staff.

11. Copies of this despatch are being sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador, Paris, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, Tripoli, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Algiers and Rabat and to the United Kingdom Delegation, New York.

I have, &c.
A. M. WILLIAMS.

Enclosure in No. 35

Pierre Voizard

Born 1896. Educated at Nancy. Served as volunteer in 1914–18 war. Médaille Militaire 1915. Was employed as pilot in Tunisia 1918–21 when he entered the Prefectoral Service. 1922 became member of Corps of Contrôleurs Civils in Tunis.

Directeur de Cabinet of M. Lucien Saint in Tunis and Morocco. 1932–41 served as prefect in France and was then transferred as Directeur of Cabinet of Ministry of Interior to Morocco until 1943. Volunteered for Free French Army and served in Italy. After the war he was Directeur de Cabinet de la Défense Nationale and then served for five years in the French element of the Control Commission for Austria. In 1950 was appointed Minister of State in the Municipality of Monaco. Appointed Resident-General in Tunis, September 1953. Commandant Légion d'Honneur (Militaire), two Croix de Guerre. Married. One son, two daughters.

Fourrier-Ruelle

Directeur du Cabinet. Member of French Foreign Service. Was employed in Tunisia in 1941–42 in the Cabinet of M. Binoche and later took part in Tunisian and Italian campaigns. Was recently First Secretary in the French Embassy in Rome.

Raux-Filio

Directeur de l'Information. Born February 1, 1914 at Sousse (Tunisia). Prisoner of war in Germany and was M. Voizard's Chef de Cabinet in Austria. Married. Two children.

Colonel Morreigne

In charge of *La Documentation et la Synthèse*. Served in 1914 and 1939 wars. Before 1939 was for five years professor of military history at the Ecole de Guerre. Served on Allied Commission for Austria, first as Political Counsellor and then as Governor of the Vorarlberg.

F 1015/28 No. 36

POLITICAL SITUATION

Mr. Consul-General Williams to Mr. Allen (*African Department—Received October 21*)

(Restricted) *Tunis,*
Dear Sir, *October 16, 1953.*

Since I wrote my despatch No. 63 of October 1 the political *détente* here has continued and there have been no further political assassinations. The campaign to reduce the cost of living has been extended somewhat; reductions in the cost of gas and electricity and also in certain taxes which bear heavily on the lower incomes have been announced. The newspapers have welcomed the relaxation of the censorship.

The Resident-General has devoted himself to gathering information. He has had several conversations with the Bey which were, I understand, entirely friendly in tone but were devoted only to reviving contact and no serious points came up for discussion. M. Baccouche, the Prime Minister, who, according to protocol, should have been present, was not invited to attend. A meeting of the Caids and Contrôleurs Civils of the northern districts was held in Tunis and M. Voizard made a brief trip to the

south, where the Caids and the military administrators were assembled to meet him.

Business is said to have improved somewhat in the Souk and, although nothing very definite has been achieved, there is a better spirit in the country and M. Voizard would seem to have encountered no serious obstacles as yet. No doubt he has profited by the shock which the Moroccan events gave to the Bey and from the general Tunisian relief at the departure of M. de Hauteclocque. The Bey may even regard the change in Resident-General as something of a personal triumph, and he has in any case nothing to lose by making a show of good will and building up a good moral position in case of later disagreement.

I called yesterday on the Resident-General for a general discussion of the situation. M. Voizard said he had no illusions about the difficulty of his task. M. Laniel and M. Bidault, who were also in favour of empirical methods, had not tied him down with precise instructions; there was likely to be a change in Government in France if not in the next few days at least after the presidential elections. He told me that he had not yet completed his analysis of the problem and that, although he now had some idea of what had to be done, he had no clear view of how to do it. He was not in favour of making grand plans of reforms and trying to get them accepted here and in Paris; he hoped that the present *détente* would help to re-establish confidence so that he would be able to proceed by more empirical methods. The economic situation of the country was engaging the greater part of his attention at present but an improvement in economic conditions was for the long term and would not suffice by itself, some positive political action which the Tunisians could recognise as a sincere attempt to cope with the problem was needed now. He would be going to Paris for consultation at the end of the month and he was anxious to stop the reports which had been spread that he expected to return to Tunis with a definite plan of reform.

For the present he was prepared to receive and listen to anyone except those who had signed the United Nations Manifesto. He had, it was true, seen Mzali, a former Minister of the Chenik Government, and was to see Saadallah, but this was at the request of the Bey, and both men maintained that they had always been opposed to the manifesto. He could not, however, see Chenik, who was in fact an old friend, still less could he see Bourguiba, whom he described as untrustworthy and even at times mentally unbalanced: on hearing of the deposition of the Sultan of Morocco, Bourguiba had, for insance, flown into a passion and threatened (before a variety of witnesses) to call out the twenty commando groups which the Neo-Destour had in training in Libya. M. Voizard appeared to agree with me in doubting the existence of these commandos and said there was in any case always banditry in the south. I asked what progress had been made with the scheme to set up more French police posts in the Sahel and the Resident-General replied that he had heard of the scheme but that in general he was not in favour of multiplying the number of police posts and wished to avoid any danger of setting up a police state.

As for the Neo-Destour, he was not sure that the recent reports of discouragement of the leaders and of lack of funds were correct, he thought that although the Neo-Destour could exercise a wide influence over the people, it was not really a homogeneous party and that it should be possible to encourage it to split up into factions. He did not know how far the Bey could control the Neo-Destour if at all.

Of the two plans which have recently been discussed in the press M. Voizard dismissed M. Dumont Maliverg's scheme for a North African Federation as mere youthful exuberance. The " Plan Catroux " for handing over government to the Tunisians except for certain reserved matters was a more serious proposal, it came from Paris and it was backed by General Catroux, M. Perillier, a former Resident-General, and by M. Mitterand who had resigned from the Government over M. Voizard's appointment. The scheme was perhaps dangerous since the authors did not seem to realise how far the reserved powers might go and the result might appear to the disappointed and disillusioned Arab as merely another form of French dominance and control. He reiterated his dislike of theoretical solutions.

It remains to be seen whether the *détente* will grow into a more positive spirit of co-operation and goodwill. The campaign to reduce the cost of living has been criticised fairly sharply in trade union circles and, although in the political sphere the Bey may sincerely wish to co-operate with the Resident-General, there is no assurance that violence will not once more break out and lead to further repression. It seems, too, that M. Voizard is right in fearing that there has been too big a " build up " and that there will be widespread disappointment if he does not produce a solution to the problem, like a rabbit out of a hat, when he comes back from Paris. So far he has made no public statement to prevent such a reaction.

I have sent a copy of this letter to Chancery, Paris, Chancery Tripoli, the Consulates-General at Algiers and Rabat and to the United Kingdom Delegation, New York.

I have, &c.
A. M. WILLIAMS.

P.S.—It is announced in the *Petit Matin* of October 17, which is regarded as the mouthpiece of the Residency that the Bey, who has not appeared at any public official ceremony since the dismissal of the Chenik Government by M. de Hauteclocque in March 1952, will not be present at the opening of the Tunis International Trade Fair to-morrow, but will end his period of seclusion by taking part in the religious ceremonies at the feast of Mouled (the Birthday of the Prophet), which falls on November 19.

JF 1013/13 No. 37

REVIEW OF POLITICAL EVENTS IN TUNISIA

August 1–October 31, 1953

Mr. Consul-General Williams to Mr. Eden. (Received November 9)

(No. 70. Restricted) *Tunis, November 4, 1953.*

Sir,

I have the honour to send you herewith my Review of Political Events in Tunisia for the three months ended the 31st of October, 1953.

2. Copies of this despatch are being sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador, Paris, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, Tripoli, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Algiers, Tetuan, Tangier and Rabat, and the United Kingdom Delegation, New York.

I have, &c.
A. M. WILLIAMS.

Enclosure in No. 37

Political Review of Events in Tunisia No. 4 for the Period August 1 to October 31, 1953

General

The period under review was notable chiefly for the appointment of a new Resident-General and for a welcome relaxation in the political tension in Tunis. An appeal by the Bey at the end of September to all to abstain from acts of violence put an end to a series of political assassinations; there was an improvement in the relations between the Palace and the Residency-General and the Resident-General relaxed some of the security measures which had been taken by his predecessor. The second appearance of the Tunisian question on the United Nations agenda caused little comment locally. In the economic field the strikes in France appeared to have no noticeable local repercussion, and the Tunisian Government made a serious effort to bring about a reduction in the cost of living.

The Resident-General

M. de Hauteclocque, whose effort to ease the situation in June by releasing some of the political prisoners had proved ineffective, found himself forced by the increasing frequency of political assassinations to institute even stricter measures of control. These did not put a stop to the incidents and the situation caused anxiety in Paris. M. de Hauteclocque was recalled on August 24 for consultation and did not return to Tunis even for the customary leave-taking. He was promoted to be " Grand Officier de la Légion d'Honneur " and it was stated that he would shortly be given an embassy. Tunisian opinion, however, took it that M. de Hauteclocque had been dismissed, and it seems that the Bey regarded his departure with considerable personal satisfaction. The new Resident-General, M. Pierre Voizard, was appointed on September 2 and the appointment caused the resignation of M. Mitterand, Ministre d'Etat, from the French Government. M. Voizard arrived in Tunis on September 26 after an exchange of

cordial telegrams with the Bey whom he had known when he was previously in Tunis on the staff of the then Resident-General, M. Lucien Saint. After his arrival M. Voizard devoted his first month in Tunis to the collection of information and the examination of the situation. On October 27 he announced at a press conference that he had decided, in view of the goodwill shown by the Tunisians, as a result of the Bey's appeal for calm, to relax some of the security measures which had been taken by his predecessor. He therefore restored the police powers, hitherto exercised by the army to the civilian authorities, abolished the press censorship, removed security restrictions (curfew, traffic control, &c.) from towns in the Sahel and released twenty-four political éloignés. He made it clear that he had not declared the end of the state of siege nor had he lifted the ban on newspapers which had been suppressed. At the end of October he returned to Paris in order to lay his findings before the Government and to obtain fresh instructions.

The Bey

There is little doubt that the Bey was thoroughly frightened by the events in Morocco, and it is possible that fear of suffering the same fate caused him to agree on August 29 to seal the decree concerning the promotion and transfer of Caids which had been hanging fire for two years; it is, however, noteworthy that M. de Hauteclocque had then already left for Paris and the Bey may well have known that a new Resident-General was to be appointed before he agreed to seal the decree. On September 21 he issued, apparently spontaneously, an appeal to all in Tunis to be calm and to abstain from acts of violence so that the new Resident-General might find an improvement of the atmosphere on his arrival in the country. This was the first time that the Bey had issued such an appeal directly to his people, a previous appeal for calm was made early this year by the Resident-General " in perfect agreement with " the Bey. The appeal seems to have been effective, for, apart from an incident which occurred the same evening, no further political assassinations or acts of violence have been reported locally.

The Bey agreed to be a patron of the Tunis International Trade Fair and thereby averted a boycott of the fair which had been threatened by Tunisian business interests. He was not present at the opening of the fair (he has attended no public ceremony since M. de Hauteclocque dismissed and arrested the Chenik Government in March 1952) but it was announced in the press that he intended to break his seclusion by taking part in the religious ceremonies at the feast of Mouled (the Prophet's Birthday) which this year falls in November.

The Bey appears to have welcomed M. Voizard's efforts to create a better atmosphere and, although no serious problems have so far been discussed, cordial if superficial relations have once more been established between the Palace and the Residency. The Bey seems to have gone out of his way to show his willingness to co-operate with the new Resident-General in finding a solution to the Tunisian problem and even if negotiations later break down he will have built up a useful propaganda position.

The Tunisian Government

There was no change in the Tunisian Government during the period in spite of rumours that the Prime Minister, M. Baccouche, was no longer acceptable to the Bey.

As a result of the recent reforms the municipal and caidal councils are now elected bodies, although the Caid who presides is an official nominated by the Bey. Friction was caused by the reluctance of certain Caids to avail themselves of the statutory permission to delegate their powers to their elected vice-presidents. To meet this situation M. de Hauteclocques wrote to the Prime Minister inviting him to send out a circular to all Caids informing them that they must delegate power to their vice-presidents. M. Baccouche compromised by sending a circular (after he had left the country for France to take a cure) worded to the effect that delegation was necessary but that total delegation was not expedient for the time being. This pleased nobody, and M. Baccouche was apparently rebuked by the Bey for undermining the Beylical prerogative. The incident was not reported in the local press at the time but there have subsequently been many critical references to " the circular letter."

It appears that M. Baccouche was not present, as protocol would normally dictate, at the interviews between the Bey and the Resident-General, and it seems that the Resident-General gave the Bey to understand that he would be willing to dispense with the presence of the Prime Minister if the Bey would refrain from calling in persons obnoxious to the French.

It appears to be generally taken for granted that Bey would be glad to be rid of M. Baccouche and his Government. French officials maintain that a change of government would be unlikely to bring about any improvement in administration as the present Tunisian Ministers are, they say, more efficient and honest than usual in this country. Much has been made of the reports that before issuing his appeal for calm the Bey consulted Mzali and Saadalla who were members of the Chenik Government and that M. Voizard has received both these men. Some change of Ministers may form part of any negotiations which take place after the Resident-General's return from Paris.

Public Safety

During the first two months of the period political assassinations increased in number. The most important were the murder on August 8 of the Cheik Ahmed Belgaroui of Sfax; the shooting at the end of August in Monastir of a policeman and the immediate police reaction to which led to the shooting of four Neo-Destourians, allegedly while trying to escape, and the wounding of seven others; the murder of the Cheik of Bou Ficha on September 8. On September 14 Hedi Chaker, one of the three principal leaders of the Neo-Destour was dragged from his house, shot and left dead at the side of the road some miles away (a method reminiscent of the killing of Farhat Hached); a note was found attached to the body threatening the death of three Neo-Destourians for each pro-French victim of assassination. Finally, on September 21 at Monastir a youth was killed by four men allegedly masquerading as members of the French army.

The tightening of security measures which was undertaken by the French proved ineffective, and to add to their worries on August 24, forty-six prisoners, who were being held in connexion with political crimes, escaped from prison at Le Bardo and only seven have so far been recaptured. The police action at Monastir and the shooting of the four Neo-Destourians roused the Egyptian radio broadcasters to unusual flights of imagination in their descriptions of the incident. The assassination of Hedi Chaker caused the French no little embarrassment as the killing seemed to be an act of reprisal and it came at a moment when they claimed that Hedi Chaker had shown signs of breaking with the Neo-Destour and might have been useful to the administration.

During the period there were skirmishes in the south, described by Cairo radio as pitched battles, between the French army and small bands of Tunisians wearing some sort of uniform and describing themselves as the Army of Liberation. The bands were apparently often headed by well-known local bandits who frequently showed great personal skill in retreat while leaving their troops to attack. As part of the security measures there were numerous arrests of fellaghas (bandits), and measures were taken to deal with those who had harboured or otherwise assisted them.

The opportunity of the Caidal movement was taken to dismiss four Caids who were notoriously favourable to the Neo-Destour and it was hoped that the movement would contribute to strengthen the administration of such places as the Sahel where it was also proposed to set up more French police posts.

During September and October at trials before the military court heavy sentences have been passed in cases of political murder and violence, mostly dating from early 1952. The three assassins of the Bey du Camp were tried and condemned to death (one *in abstentia*). The comment has appeared in the Arab press that in general sentences are heavier for crimes which touch French interests, than for those against Tunisians while the Neo-Destour news sheet ends each issue by stating the number of days which have elapsed since Farhat Hached's murder and the fact that no arrest has yet been made. On this point the French now hint that the assassin very probably enjoys Palace immunity.

Reforms: Plan Catroux

On October 2 in Paris the Comité d'Etude des Problèmes d'Outre Mer published a resolution proposed by its president General Catroux, and backed by M. Perillier, a former Resident-General, and M. Mitterand, a former member of the Government, setting out a plan for solving the Tunisian question. The essential points of the " Plan Catroux " were first, to satisfy legitimate Tunisian aspirations by acknowledging Tunisian sovereignty and by setting up a government of Tunisians competent in all internal matters with an elected legislature and an agreed programme and time-table of reform, second, to safeguard French treaty rights in the realms of diplomacy, strategy, foreign trade, public debt, monetary policy and culture by defining and guaranteeing these rights as well as the rights and duties of local French

settlers who should be given some form of representation compatible with Tunisian sovereignty; Franco-Tunisian negotiations should be continued in France and a climate of confidence should be created by easing the restrictions on political *détenus*.

This plan was accepted by M. Masmoudi, the representative of the Neo-Destour in Paris, as a basis for negotiation. The Tunisian (Neo-Destourian) Nationalists and the Socialists were also in favour whereas the Radicals and Rassemblement du Peuple Français opposed the plan and a Rassemblement spokesman said it was irresponsible and that the only possible form of government for Tunisia was co-sovereignty. In conversation the Resident-General expressed the opinion that the danger inherent in the plan was that the measures needed to safeguard French interests might leave nothing over for Tunisian sovereignty.

M. Dumont Maliverg and a committee of Frenchmen who considered that the Plan Catroux conceded too much to the Arabs, advocated instead the creation of a North African Federal Union composed of Algiers, Morocco and Tunis with its government and capital at Algiers. The federation would be a member of the French Union and, whereas the Arab and European communities would each be administered by their own officials, the federal power would remain in European hands. This proposal was not taken very seriously.

Economic and Labour

Business, which at the end of the summer was very slack, showed the normal seasonal improvement at the beginning of October.

The strikes which paralysed France during August had little effect or influence in Tunis apart from delays to mail and cargo. There were various one-day strikes to draw attention to wage claims, notably by the Public Works employees (C.G.T. and S.F.I.O.), the Bakers (U.G.T.T.) while the Government printers (C.F.T.C.) came out towards the end of October and the dispute is still unsettled. Arab shopkeepers closed their shops after the murder of Hedi Chaker, but the Administration published a reminder that under martial law such manifestations were forbidden, and some shopkeepers were prosecuted.

At the beginning of October the Tunisian Government undertook a campaign to lower the cost of living. They set about reducing the cost of food-stuffs by encouraging the merchants to make voluntary price cuts, there were small reductions in the cost of gas and electricity and some tax reductions were announced. This initiative was criticised by the Socialists and trade unions who saw in it only a method of avoiding legitimate claims for wage increases and demanded that there should also be reductions in rent, bus fares, and so on. In fact, by the end of October it seemed that food prices had fallen slightly but not below the official published list of prices in force at the beginning of the campaign.

The first International Trade Fair was held in Tunis between October 18 and November 1. Heavy rains rather spoilt the attendance figures. French and Tunisian participation in the fair and in its various official ceremonies contributed to the general improvement in the political climate of the capital.

Press

With the arrival of the new Resident-General the censorship was first relaxed somewhat and then abolished on October 28. Both Arab and French leader writers began rather timidly to express occasional opinions. Events in Morocco, Indo-China, Trieste, the United Nations debates and the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations were factually reported but there was very little comment.

Visits

Among the visitors to Tunisia during the period were:—

M. Jean-Marie Louvel, French Minister of Commerce, who opened the Tunis Trade Fair.

M. Ramarony, The French Secretary of State in Charge of Merchant Marine, who inspected the ports of Sousse, Sfax, Tunis, La Goulette and Bizerta and praised their efficiency. He suggested that the fishing industry should adopt more modern methods.

General de Gaulle, who passed through on his way to and from Madagascar and Reunion and was greeted by the Resident-General and the local head of the Rassemblement du Peuple Français on both occasions.

King Idris Senoussi of Libya, who took ship from Tunis on his way to Switzerland for medical treatment.

M. Chaudron de Courcel of the French Ministry of of Foreign Affairs.

Greek naval training ship *Armatolos* which visited Bizerta in September.

November 4, 1953.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

JF 1012/1

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN TUNISIA

Mr. Calvert to Lord Salisbury. (*Received August 27*)

(No. 43. Secret) *Tunis,*
My Lord Marquess, *July 9, 1953.*

I have the honour to transmit herewith the amendments, deletions and additions to our report on leading personalities in Tunisia of 8th April, 1952, which was revised on 7th July, 1953. (Your letter JF 1012/1 of 25th April, 1952, refers.)

2. A copy of this despatch, and enclosure, is being sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador, Paris, for information.

I have, &c.
A. S. CALVERT.

Enclosure

Leading Personalities in Tunisia

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1. Abdul Wahab, Hassan Hosni

Born about 1880. Tunisian notable. Intellectual and patron of Tunisian art and letters. Minister of State in Baccouche Ministry, 1943 to July 1947. Made honorary Minister of State. Tunisian delegate to U.N.E.S.C.O. meeting at Florence in 1950 and Istanbul in 1951. Elected Associate Member of the Royal Institute of Egypt in February 1951.

2. Adhari, Dr. Ali el

Born about 1895. Minister of Labour in the Government of Mustapha Kaak—July 1947 to August 1950.

3. Ammar, Taher ben

Born about 1905. Was President of the Tunisian section of the Grand Conseil, until that assembly ceased to exist in December 1951. Landowner and leading merchant. President of the Tunisian Chamber of Agriculture.

4. Baccouche, Salahaddine Ben Mohamed

Born at Tunis in 1883. Member of old family of Beni Khair. Related to the present Bey. Widely respected, genial elder statesman. Educated at Lycée Carnot. From 1904 to 1941 in local administrative service, ending as Caid of Sousse. On liberation of Tunisia appointed Prime Minister on 15th May, 1943, in which position he served until 1947. Made honorary Prime Minister. On 28th March, 1952, appointed Prime Minister by Lamine Pasha Bey.

5. Badra, Mohamed

Born in 1900 at Tunis. Educated at the Sadiki College, the Lycée Carnot, Tunis, and in France (literature). Civil servant in Administration, later in Ministry of Justice and subsequently in charge of the Secretariat of the Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture of North Tunisia. In 1943 was in charge of the "cabinet" of Prime Minister Chenik. In 1948 appointed administrator of the Banque de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie.

Entered second Chenik Government in August 1950, as Minister for Social Affairs. Was in Paris with Prime Minister in October–December 1951 to discuss Tunisian problem with French Government. On 13th January, 1952, went again to Paris with Saleh ben Youssef this time to lay complaint against France before the United Nations. On removal and dismissal of Prime Minister Chenik at the end of March 1952, Badra left Paris suddenly with ben Youssef and succeeded in reaching Cairo. Was present, with Saleh ben Youssef, at United Nations meeting at New York in October–November 1952, when Tunisian and Moroccan questions were brought before the United Nations by the Arabo-Asiatic States. Later returned to Cairo.

6. Belkhiria, Taieb
Appointed Minister of State in the Baccouche Ministry in April 1952.
Born 1889. Expert Arab and French scholar. Since 1910 has filled various administration posts in the Tunisian governmental service; and since 1943 has been one of the heads in the Ministry of State. Is an officer of the Légion d'Honneur.

7. Belkhodja, Abdel Kader
Born about 1903. Minister of Agriculture in Kaak Government, July 1947 to August 1950. On ceasing to hold office was made honorary Minister of Agriculture by the Bey, and appointed a representative to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation—a selection strongly criticised by the nationalists with whom he was unpopular.

8. Boisseson, Robert Barbara de Labelotterie de
Born 1905. In French Foreign Service since 1930 has served at Warsaw, in China, Japan and at the Holy See whence he was appointed to Tunisia as Minister delegate. Agreeable and helpful.

9. Bouhajeb, Ali
Born about 1895. Minister of Public Health in Kaak Government, July 1947 to August 1950. Member of a leading Tunisian family (see Salah ben Khalifa).

10. Bourguiba, Maître Farid
Lawyer, journalist. Banished to his native place, Beja, for a period in the summer of 1951 for scurrilous articles against General Juin over Moroccan question.

11. Bourguiba, Maître Habib
Born at Monastir in 1903. Educated at the Sadiki College, Tunis, and in France where studied law. Admitted to Tunisian bar in 1930. Leader of Destour nationalist party; spent a number of years abroad in Egypt and France. Married to a French lady. After split of Destour party into Néo- and Vieux-, became secretary-general of stronger and more influential Néo-Destour nationalists in 1934 and President during the war. Has been interned by French from time to time since 1934. Visited United States at the end of 1946 and returned to Tunis from Egypt in September 1949. Is prepared to negotiate with French and accept reforms leading to internal autonomy as stage on road to complete independence. Is nevetherless ready to recognise special relationship between Tunisia and France. By temperament is somewhat *exalté*; an ideologist, self-important. In 1950 was the recipient of marks of high consideration by the Bey.
In spring and summer of 1951 made prolonged tour of a political character—Egypt, Pakistan, India, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Italy, United Kingdom, Sweden and the United States. In the United Kingdom and the United States made speeches, broadcasts and gave press interviews that aroused strong comment amongst the French. Was later refused entry into Morocco. Early in January 1952 returned from Paris to Tunis where on 18th January was arrested upon the orders of the new Resident-General, M. de Hauteclocque, on grounds of having by violent speeches encouraged outbreaks of lawlessness by nationalist followers. Was sent to Tabarka with several other nationalist leaders, arrested at the same time, and at end of March, at the time of the dismissal of Prime Minister Chenik, was transferred to Remada in southern Tunisia. Was later transferred to the island of La Galite, where he remains in detention.

12. Brunet, Louis
Leading member of the *Rassemblement Français* or French residents in Tunisia. Was one of their two representatives ("senator") to the Council of the Republic, Paris. Ceased to hold this office in the summer of 1952, when Gabriel Puaux (*q.v.*) was elected in his place. The other, and senior, "senator" is Antoine Colonna (*q.v.*).

13. Chadly Bey, Prince
Born about 1909 (1328 A.H.). Eldest son of His Highness Laming Pasha Bey, Bey of Tunis. Personable and prominent. Has taken a leading part in supporting nationalist aspirations and is credited with being one of his father's most influential advisers. In February 1951 appointed Director of the Personal Cabinet of the Bey, but was deprived in 1952 of this post when his personal relations with the Residency-General became very strained.

14. Chenik, M'hamed
Born in Tunis in 1890 of a family of "Chorfa," descended from the Prophet. Father and forebears important merchants. He himself, after secondary education, pursued his studies in commerce, specialising in economic and financial questions. Member of the Grand Conseil from its inauguration, and served as its secretary. In 1924 was elected President of the North Tunisian Chamber of Commerce; in 1925 Vice-President of the Tunisian section of the Grand Conseil, which post he occupied until 1943. Made Prime Minister in 1943 by then Bey, Moncef Pasha Bey, but he remained aloof from political life from the Liberation until called to be Prime Minister in August 1950. Widely respected, particularly for his loyal association with Moncef Bey, but has unimpressive personality. Is reputed to be a wealthy landowner. After prolonged negotiations with the Resident-General, M. Perillier, came to an agreement over a set of reforms which were promulgated on 8th February, 1951. Difficulties arose between French Administration and Tunisian Ministry with result that little progress made in implementation of reforms. Went to Paris in October 1951, bearer of note from the Bey to the President. Remained there, together with several of his Ministers, until nearly the end of December, when returned after receipt of French Government's reply of 15th December, 1951. This reply was regarded by him and Tunisian nationalists generally as most unsatisfactory. He maintained an unco-operative attitude towards the new Resident-General, M. de Hauteclocque, and was arrested, together with three other Ministers, on 26th-27th March, 1952, and removed to Kebili in south Tunisia. A successor, Salaheddine Baccouche, appointed as Prime Minister by the Bey. Was released, as were other members of his Cabinet, later in 1952 upon giving an undertaking not to interest himself further in politics.

15. Cohen-Hadria, Dr. Elie
Born about 1902. Medical practitioner (dermatologist) also journalist. Is the federal secretary of the Tunisian Socialist Party. Has considerable local

standing; is well known to French President, M. Vincent Auriol, by whom he was received on a recent visit to Paris. Writes leaders for the Socialist weekly *Fraternité en Tunisie*.

16. Colonna, Antoine
A Corsican. Leader of the party representing French vested interests in Tunisia, the *Rassemblement Français*. Is the senior of the two representatives ("senators") to the Conseil de la République, Paris, the other being Gabriel Puaux (*q.v.*). Is indefatigable in leading the Opposition to the introduction of reforms into Tunisia, especially in lobbying the Quai d'Orsay and other Government departments and political leaders in Paris.

17. Denguizli, M'hamed
Appointed Minister of Labour in the Baccouche Ministry in April 1952.
Born 1899. Has filled various posts in the caidal service since 1926, before present appointment being Caid of Siliana since 1943. Is an officer of the Légion d'Honneur. Is brother-in-law to Taieb Belkhiria.

18. Djait, Abdelaziz
Born about 1905. Minister of Justice in Kaak Government, July 1947 to August 1950.

19. Djaziri, Sadok
Appointed Minister of Justice in the Baccouche Ministry in April 1952.
Born 1899. Expert Arab and French languages. Professor of law and eminent jurists, who has held several judicial appointments.

20. Djellouli, Habib
Formerly Minister of Justice in the Baccouche Ministry to July 1947. Then made honorary Minister of Justice.

21. Dupoizat, Georges
Born in 1909. Former officer of Saint-Maizent. Studied law and Arabic, in both of which he holds diplomas. Served for several years in Morocco in bureau of native affairs. Entered prefectural service. Has Légion d'Honneur, Croix de Guerre and Resistance Medal. Was Préfet at Belfort, when appointed to succeed Raymond Pons as secretary-general to the Tunisian Government in March 1953.

22. Duran-Angliviel, Maître André
Lawyer, journalist, politician. Has been in Tunisia since 1905. Before that was a Protestant pastor in France. Is a strong partisan of Tunisian nationalism. Has also strong socialist views, verging on communism. Himself declares he is not Communist, but a sympathiser. Wrote leading article about thrice weekly for *Le Petit Matin*, but discontinued this in March 1952 when official censorship introduced. Strongly opposed to nationalist campaign of violence and outrage. Owing to ill-health has withdrawn from all public activity and contemplates retirement to France. Very intelligent, able, and mordant writer.

23. Essadok Bey, Prince Mohamed
Born 17th March, 1888. Son of Mustapha Bey. Succeeded as Bey du Camp (next in succession to the Beylical throne) on the 5th July, 1953, upon the assassination of his elder brother Prince Azzuddine Bey on the 1st July, 1953. Not a prominent political figure; believed to be anti-Néo-Destour but not (unlike his late brother) Francophil.

24. Ferhat, Maître Saleh
Former Minister of Justice, President of the Vieux-Destour Party. Went to Paris in the autumn of 1951 to try to interest the United Nations in the Tunisian question.

25. Gantès, Henri
Born about 1910 in Egypt. Contrôleur Civil at Sfax, where, during the years 1940–42, he was assistant. Is friendly. Speaks English well and fluently.

26. Garbay, General
Born in 1903. Arrived in Tunisia in August 1951 as General Officer Commanding Troops in Tunisia. Formerly held commands in Madagascar (1947–49) and Indo-China. In Tunisia towards the end of March 1952 was responsible for maintenance of law and order under martial law proclaimed by Resident-General.

27. Garde, Colonel
Born in 1903 at Tarare (Rhône). Colonel in French Air Force since 1948, commanded the French air base at Villacoublay until appointed in January 1953, to command the French air forces in Tunisia in succession to General Challe.

28. Ghachem, M'hamed
Appointed Minister of Health in the Baccouche Ministry in April 1952.
Born 1898. Educated as doctor in Tunisia and in France. Has practised his profession at Sousse for 26 years, and was a municipal counsellor there when appointed Minister. Is a Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur.

29. Hayday, General Chadly
Born about 1904. Is Sheikh-el-Medina, or Head of the Municipality of the Arab City of Tunis. Of mixed racial origin being descended from a Greek grandfather, a sailor shipwrecked on the Tunisian coast, a Turkish grandmother and a Caucasian mother. Is related to the Beylical family. Friendly.

30. Hauteclocque, Jean de
Born in 1893. Comes of an old Artois family and is a cousin of the late Maréchal Leclerc. Served with distinction in the first World War and entered the Diplomatic Service in 1919, serving at Berne, Istanbul and Bucharest. Later became secretary-general of the French Administration in Syria, but was recalled by Vichy during the Occupation. Was arrested for Resistance activities in 1944. After the war was Ambassador at Ottawa in 1947, and later the same year appointed as Ambassador to Brussels. Appointed Resident-General, Tunisia, at the beginning of January 1952. Arrived at his post on 13th January in midst of a difficult constitutional crisis. Acted with determination and without delay in arresting a number of Neo-Destour leaders, including Habib Bourguiba, several days later. Finding Prime Minister Chenik impossible to work with, demanded his dismissal of the Bey and this not being at once agreed, ordered arrest and *éloignement* of Chenik and three Ministers. Presented proposals for reform to Bey, who had in meantime appointed Baccouche as new Prime Minister. Relations with the Bey became increasingly strained in 1952 and first half of 1953. In December 1952 was instrumental in persuading the Bey to seal two decrees on municipal and caidal reforms by bringing pressure to bear through the French Government. Is criticised by French elements in Tunisia, to whom all reform is unwelcome, although some of his earlier measures were strong-handed as regards nationalist demonstrators. Has in later months announced his desire to pursue policy of clemency and has in fact released many *éloignés*. Is genial, friendly, is more practical minded than intellectual.

31. Jozan, Vice-Amiral
Born 1899. Entered French navy in 1922 specialising in naval aviation. Chef de Cabinet of the Minister of the Colonies in 1938. In war was

arrested by Gestapo at Bizerta in December 1942. Promoted Contre-Amiral in 1946, commanding a division of aircraft carriers. Later commanding the French Navy in Morocco, and in September 1952 appointed to command the French Navy in Tunisia.

32. Kaak, Mustapha

Born about 1880. Prime Minister from 1947 to August 1950. Very unpopular with nationalists of all shades as being supine and tool of the French "imperialists." Resignation and replacement by M'hamed Chenik gave great satisfaction to nationalists, just as subsequent conferment of honours upon him and his appointment by the French in an advisory capacity to their delegation to the United Nations caused indignation. Pleasant, cultivated but perhaps somewhat ineffective. Lawyer and *bâtonnier* of the Tunis bar.

33. Khalifa, Salah ben

Born about 1912. Is the Caid-Gouverneur of Sfax. A member of a prominent Tunisian family, landowners. Is son-in-law of Ali Bouhajeb (*q.v.*).

34. Lamine Pasha Bey, His Highness Sidi Mohamed, Bey of Tunis

Born at Tunis on 4th September, 1881. Son of Sidi Mohamed el Habib Pasha Bey, who reigned from 1922–29. Ascended the Husseinite throne on 15th May, 1943, in succession to Moncef Bey, deposed. Has three sons, of whom the eldest is Prince Chadly (*q.v.*), the others being Prince Mohamed and Prince Slah Eddine, and a number of daughters. Lamine Premier, as he is sometimes designated, has identified himself increasingly since 1949 with the Tunisian nationalist movement. In 1952, regarded as being largely under the influence of small Palace clique, mainly composed of members of his family led by Prince Chadly Bey, of strong nationalist sentiments. During 1952 and early 1953 relations between Palace and Residency-General were increasingly strained.

35. Maoui, General Taher

Born about 1905. Is Chef de Protocole to the Bey of Tunis *vis-a-vis* French authorities and foreign representatives, and invariably represents His Highness at public functions. Is sociable, well disposed. Has family connexion with the Bey, but has risen to present position from a junior post in the secretariat-general.

36. Materi, Dr. Mahmud

Born at Tunis in 1896. Son of an Imam of the Mosque El Ksar. Received secondary education at the Sadiki College, after which he was a school-teacher for a time. In 1922 he took his *licence* in science and 1926 his degree in medicine. He subsequently exercised his profession in Tunis. Entering politics he became President of the Néo-Destour. In M'hamed Chenik's first Government in 1943 he was Minister of the Interior, but on the Liberation he retired from political life until in August 1950 he became Minister of State in Chenik's second Government. Towards the end of March 1952 was arrested, together with Prime Minister Chenik and two other Ministers, by the new resident-general, M. de Hauteclocque, and removed to Kebili where detained pending formation of a new Ministry. Released later in 1952 on giving undertaking not to take part in politics.

37. Menchari, Abdelaziz

Appointed Minister of Agriculture in the Baccouche Ministry in April 1952.

Born 1896. Expert Arab and French scholar. Has filled various administration posts in the Tunisian governmental service; and since 1943 has been Caid of Kef. Is an officer of the Légion d'Honneur.

38. M'Zali, Mohamad Salah

Born at Monastir in 1896. Educated at the Sadiki College and the Lycée Carnot. Doctor of Laws. Also graduate of Lyon. Held important post in the Ministry of Justice from 1922 to 1934, when he was appointed Caid of Bizerta. In 1943 became Minister for Religious Endowments; Minister for Social Affairs in 1945. He was Minister of Commerce and "Artisanat" in the Kaak Government, and on M'hamed Chenik becoming Prime Minister, was the only Minister to retain his seat, holding the same portfolio in the new Government. Energetic, intelligent, good administrator and good-humoured.

Towards the end of March 1952 was arrested together with Prime Minister Chenik and two other Ministers, by the new resident-general, M. de Hauteclocque, and removed to Kebili, where detained pending formation of a new Ministry.

Released later in 1952 on giving undertaking not to take part in politics.

39. Okbi, Maître Mousef el

Son of a former President of the Tunis Municipality. Lawyer. Of doubtful morality in both public and private life. Is a drug addict and is said (by a Residency official) to have been sentenced in 1949 to two years' imprisonment for drug trafficking. Other scandals attached to his name in recent years. Is opportunist, of no particular political party but is believed to be francophil. Was elected Second (*i.e.*, Tunisian) Vice-President of the Tunis Municipality in May 1953, in succession to the late Chedly Kastally, assassinated a few days earlier.

40. Perrussel, Maître Yves

Born about 1905. Honorary M.B.E. for his work as Resistance leader during the war. Is the Territorial delegate of the R.P.F. in Tunisia. Former Vice-President of the Tunis Municipality, a post he resigned in 1950.

41. Puaux, Gabriel

Born 1883, son of a Protestant clergyman. French resident in Tunisia elected in the summer of 1952 to succeed Louis Brunet as representative, along with Antoine Colonna (*q.v.*) of French in Tunisia in the Council of the Republic, Paris. Is an Ambassador, now retired, having served as secretary to the Tunisian Government, High Commissioner in the Lebanon and Resident-General in Morocco.

42. Rais, Hadi Ben

Appointed Minister of Commerce in the Baccouche Ministry in April 1952.

Born 1899. Is a doctor of medicine, educated in Tunisia and France; and is the private doctor of the Bey (as he was of several of the Bey's predecessors). Is an officer of the Légion d'Honneur.

43. Romdhane, Taher ben

Born about 1910. Caid of Mateur. Member of the Tunisian section of the Grand Conseil until it ceased to exist in December 1951. Well-known Tunisian land-owning family.

44. Saadallah, General Mohamed

Born at Kairouan in 1886. Long service in subordinate administrative posts, until he became director of Religious Endowments from 1932 to 1941. Subsequently he held important appointments under the Ministry of Agriculture, until in August 1950 he became Minister of Agriculture in M'hamed Chenik's second Government. Was in Paris with the Prime Minister during October–December 1951, to discuss Tunisian problem with the French Government. Towards the end of March 1952, when Prime Minister Chenik and three other Ministers were arrested and removed to Kebili, Saadallah, owing it was said to ill-health, was not sent away but kept in house arrest, pending formation of new Ministry. Released later in 1952 on giving undertaking not to take part in politics.

45. Salem, Dr. Mohamed Ben

Born at Radès in 1915. Educated at the Lycée Carnot, Tunis and at the Sorbonne. Qualified in medicine in the Faculty of Medicine, Paris, where he remained from 1934 to 1941. In 1944 married the daughter of His Highness the Bey, Sidi Lamine Pasha Bey. In August 1950 he entered the second Chenik Government as Minister of Health. Towards the end of March 1952 was arrested, together with Prime Minister Chenik and two other Ministers, by the new resident-general, M. de Hauteclocque, and removed to Kebili where detained pending the formation of a new Cabinet. Released later in 1952 on giving undertaking not to take part in politics.

46. Sliman, Dr. Sliman ben

Born about 1912. Leading member of the Tunisian Communist Party, of which he was elected President in October 1950. Was elected member of Tunisian delegation to the abortive World Peace Conference at Sheffield; went to the Warsaw Conference where he was elected to the World Council for Peace. Was reported to have visited the U.S.S.R. earlier in 1950. President of the Tunisian Committee for Peace and Liberty. Addressed letter of protest and headed deputation of protest to Her Majesty's Consulate-General in October 1951 over events in Egypt. During constitutional troubles in Tunisia in January 1952 was one of six leading Communists arrested by the new resident-general M. de Hauteclocque, and sent to Remada in south Tunisia. Released after several days owing to poor health.

47. Smadja, Dr. Henri

Newspaper proprietor and director, being owner of *La Presse de Tunisie* and the Paris weekly *Combat*. Jewish. Is doctor of medicine but is believed never to have practised. Has a doubtful reputation in some quarters here. Is native of Tunisia but spends much of his time in France. Has visited the United States several times.

48. Stablo, René

Born about 1903. Contrôleur-Civil at Bizerta. Has previously served in similar capacity elsewhere in Tunisia, among other posts at Djerba.

49. Tremsal, Dr.

Born about 1903. Vice-President (French) of the Municipality since the summer of 1950. Has a Tunisian co-Vice-President in Maître Moncef el Okby (*q.v.*). A leading medical practitioner until he accepted this office, to which he was re-elected in May 1953.

50. Youssef, Maître Salah ben

Born at Djerba in 1909. Educated at the Lycée Carnot, Tunis, and the Faculty of Law, Paris where he was *licencié* in 1933. In 1934 he took to politics, joining the Néo-Destour Party whose secretary-general he became in 1945 on the departure of Habib Bourguiba (*q.v.*) for Egypt. He entered the second Chenik Government in August 1950 as Minister of Justice, a political development of significance in view of Maître Salah ben Youssef's prominence in the Néo-Destour Party. One of the more active of the Ministerial group that aided Prime Minister Chenik in negotiations with the resident-general in 1950 and early 1951. In autumn of 1951 was in Paris with Chenik for purpose of pursuing Tunisian question with the French Government. On 13th January, 1951, left with Badra for Paris to endeavour to bring the Tunisian question before the United Nations. On the removal and dismissal of Chenik at the end of March 1952 Youssef left Paris suddenly with Badra and succeeded in reaching Cairo. Was present with Mohamed Badra at United Nations meeting at New York, October–November 1952, when Tunisian and Moroccan questions were brought before the United Nations by the Arabo-Asiatic States. Later returned to Cairo.